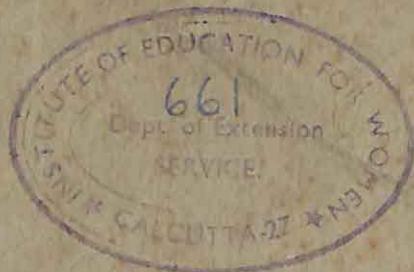
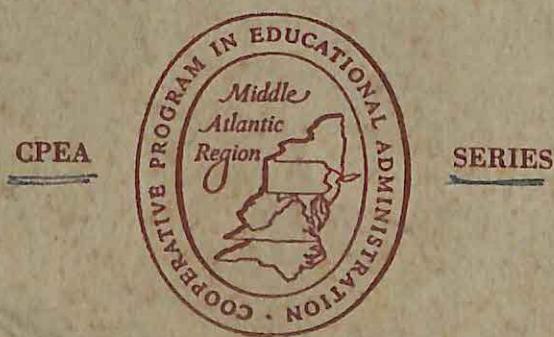


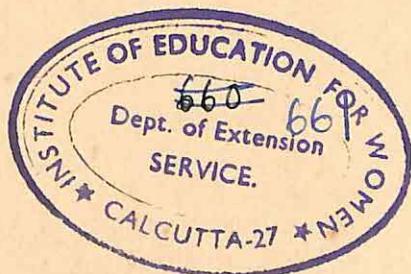
# *Decision-Making and American Values in School Administration*





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STUDY FINANCED BY GRANT FROM THE W. K. KELLOGG FOUNDATION



*Published for the  
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Middle Atlantic Region  
by the Bureau of Publications  
Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, 1954*

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## **Foreword**

As the tension between the free and slave worlds continues, it is ever clearer that the basic conflict is neither economic nor military. Rather it lies in the realm of moral values. This realization is having one beneficent effect: it is causing free peoples to make explicit the ethical and moral commitments which underlie actions in their societies.

This process is going on to a lesser or greater degree in all areas of culture in the United States. It is especially and properly vigorous in educational administration which exists to provide means of thinking out and putting into action the purposes of education.

Those most immediately concerned with administrative leadership have given increasing attention in recent decades to the moral content of school decisions and operations. They have striven to reduce the element of expediency and to increase the element of principle, founded in the great commitments of the Hebraic-Christian tradition, which enter into their decisions.

This document is a part of this democratic trend. It presents the efforts of a group of college professors and school executives to explore the basic values upon which decisions must rest in a free society. It reflects a conviction that the decision-making process in educational administration deserves much more study than it has received in the past. It recognizes that the misadventures of school administrators often have resulted more from lack of insight than from lack of courage.

During the 1952-53 school year a series of full-day conferences were held at Teachers College. The participants identified certain typical and critical situations which confront school administrators in these troubled times and which tax their powers of judgment and decision. They then discussed the values involved in dealing with these situations.

Based on their deliberations and out of his own rich scholarship, Professor George S. Counts has drafted a statement which should con-

tribute to the thinking of those who seek to minimize expediency and maximize principle in the basic decisions which underlie action in the educational enterprise. He has drawn freely from an earlier work of his, *Education and American Civilization*.<sup>1</sup> The statement, however, offers no formulas or pat solutions which can be applied by rule of thumb in the wide variety of communities that compose the United States. Rather, the situations posed and actions taken are designed to stimulate discussion and thought about administrative problems.

The following individuals participated in the several conferences and frequent communications carried on as the statement was prepared:

Finis E. Engleman, Commissioner of Education, Connecticut  
Frederick M. Raubinger, Commissioner of Education, New Jersey  
Worth McClure, Executive Secretary, AASA, Washington, D. C.  
Robert K. Merton, Professor of Sociology, Columbia University  
John Fischer, Superintendent of Schools, Baltimore, Md.  
Ward I. Miller, Superintendent of Schools, Wilmington, Del.  
Ernest R. Caverly, Superintendent of Schools, Brookline, Mass.  
George E. Bryant, Superintendent of Schools, Roslyn, N. Y.  
Ralph Gallagher, Superintendent of Schools, Bound Brook, N. J.  
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All these men contributed from their thinking and experience, but they are not individually responsible for viewpoints and ideas expressed.

This undertaking is a part of the Cooperative Program in Educational Administration made possible by the W. K. Kellogg Foundation.

# **Contents**

*Part One: THE FOUNDATIONS OF DECISION-MAKING  
IN AMERICAN EDUCATION*

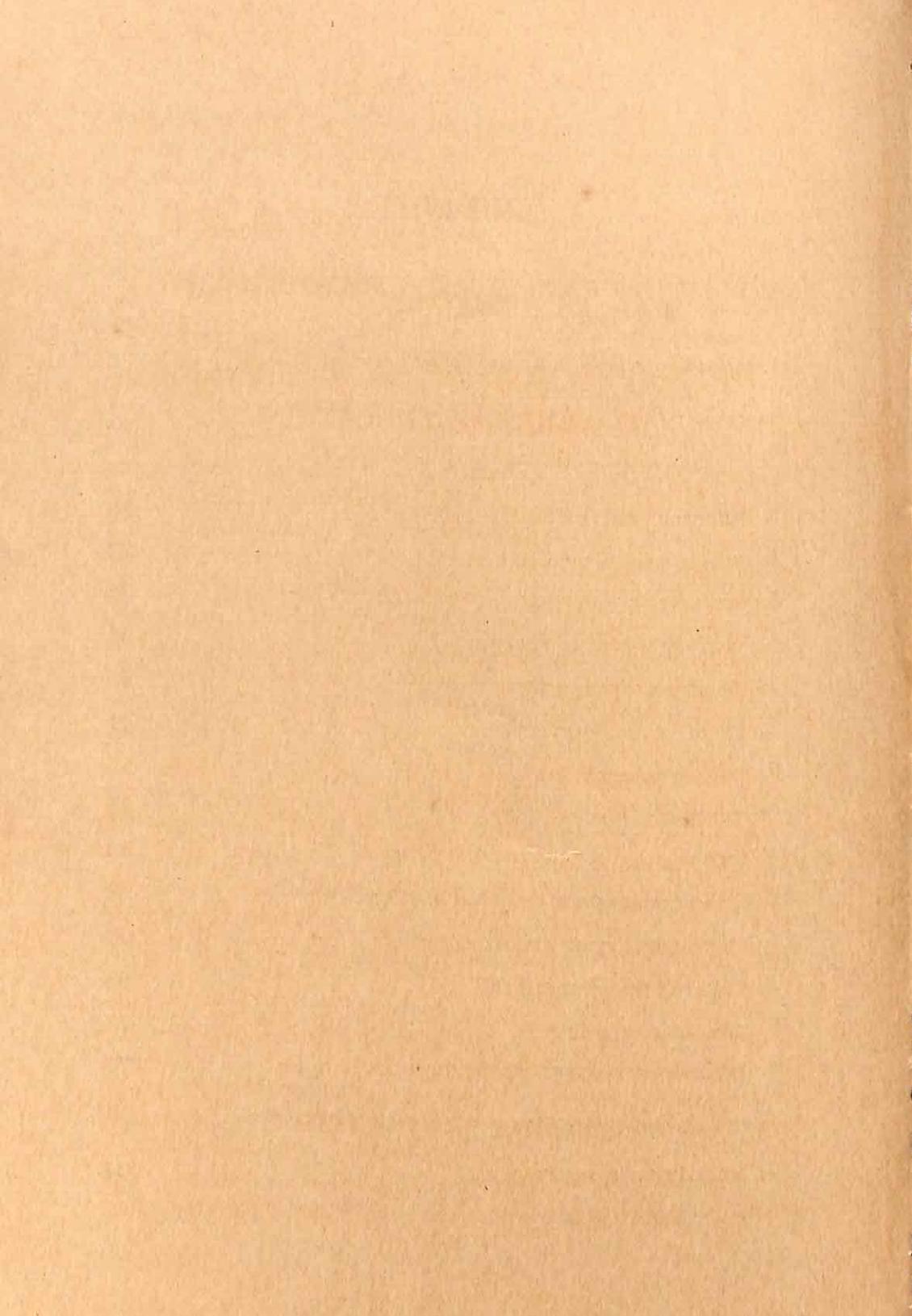
1. DECISION-MAKING IN AMERICAN EDUCATION	2
2. THE ROLE OF THE SCHOOL ADMINISTRATOR	7

*Part Two: SOME DECISION-MAKING SITUATIONS*

3. PATTERNS OF ADMINISTRATION	16
4. THE MINORITY TEACHER	22
5. THE UNITED NATIONS	26
6. THE "COMMUNIST TEACHER"	31
7. TEACHING CITIZENSHIP	36
8. STUDENTS IN POLITICS	41
9. THE FUNDAMENTALS	45
10. TEACHERS IN POLITICS	50
11. THE LEISURE HOURS OF THE YOUNG	54
12. THE PROBLEM OF JUVENILE DELINQUENCY	58
13. THE QUESTION OF SEGREGATION	63
14. THE TEACHERS' UNION	68
15. THE ESSAY CONTEST	73
16. EDUCATION FOR THE EMERGING AGE	77

*Part Three: DECISION-MAKING IN PERSPECTIVE*

17. SOME GUIDING PRINCIPLES	84
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*Part One*

**THE FOUNDATIONS OF DECISION-MAKING  
IN AMERICAN EDUCATION**

# 1. *Decision-Making in American Education*

The conduct of education requires the making of countless decisions, both great and small. The launching of a school involves definite decisions, conscious or unconscious, regarding the purposes of education, the admission of pupils, the selection of janitors and teachers, the content of the curriculum, the role of extracurricular activities, the methods of instruction, and the forms of classification and promotion. It also involves decisions regarding the patterns of behavior governing the human relations of pupils with pupils, of pupils with teachers, of teachers with teachers, of teachers with supervisors and administrators, and of the entire school personnel with the board of education and with the community in all of its diversity. Indeed, decisions concerning this complex of human relationships may be more important than decisions concerning the content of the formal curriculum.

It should be noted too that the launching of a school involves decisions regarding buildings and grounds which may have hygienic, moral, aesthetic, and intellectual implications. The school site, the style of architecture, the size of classrooms, the quantity and quality of equipment, the nature of wall decorations, the position of doors and windows, the character of toilet facilities, the number of floors, stairways, and elevators, the means of heating and ventilation, the dimensions of the playgrounds, and the landscaping of the entire physical plant are invariably matters of decision. And with all of these go decisions regarding taxation, financing, and school support generally.

To be sure, once a school is established, decisions made in the process may endure indefinitely. And in a relatively static society the making of decisions may assume in large measure the routine character of perpetuating time-honored tradition. Yet in the most static social order, teachers grow old and die, buildings decay, equipment wears out, funds are consumed, and every child or teacher is a unique per-

sonality. Our American society is one of the most dynamic, perhaps the most dynamic, in history. Consequently, in our case inherited practices and conceptions must always be subjected to careful scrutiny. In fact, it is in the domain of adjustment to new conditions, knowledges, and ideas that many of the most crucial and difficult decisions have to be made.

The question of who is to make decisions and how they are to be made is obviously basic to all decision-making. And there can be no simple and unequivocal answer to this question in any complex society. Even in totalitarian states, where all power resides in theory and design in some form of central dictatorship, many decisions have to be made on the spot by teachers and administrators. The great decisions shade off imperceptibly into the minor decisions, some of which may prove to be great and thus cost the persons involved their posts and even their liberties. In a free society the whole process is necessarily blurred and complicated by the wide distribution of power, the respect for differences, and the regard for the creative mind.

In America we have a kind of official theory of decision-making in education which is supposed to embrace all major questions of policy. After making full allowance for many exceptions and variations, we may define this theory in terms of a fairly simple pattern.

Let us begin with the Federal Constitution. According to Article X of the Bill of Rights, which was adopted in 1791, "The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the states, are reserved to the states respectively, or to the people." Since education is not mentioned in this great charter, it is apparently left entirely to the states. In fact, however, the federal government has taken an active interest in education ever since the Ordinances of 1785 and 1787, and today appropriates substantial sums annually for the support of a great variety of educational enterprises. Also, the Supreme Court has intervened through judicial interpretations of constitutional provisions which vitally affect education. Nevertheless the state remains to this day the primary legal authority in the field.

Traditionally, however, the individual state has not been primarily responsible for the actual administration of its public schools. While enforcing minimum standards, promoting divers limited objectives, and providing a measure of leadership, it has generally delegated its authority to the local community. It is in the locality, therefore, that

the process of decision-making is concentrated. And here the people, operating within a framework of traditions, laws, and judicial decisions, shape the policies governing the establishment and the conduct of their schools. According to the official theory, however, the people do not perform these functions directly. By one means or another, but commonly through popular elections, they create small lay boards of education to which their authority is delegated. Apparently it is assumed that at the time of election the broad issues confronting the schools will be thoroughly discussed by the electorate, and that board members will be chosen on the basis of both their personal qualifications and their clearly announced positions on the issues. It seems to be further assumed that during their term of office the board members will meet at stated intervals and, free from the pressure of special interests, make decisions respecting the conduct of public education in accord with the expressed mandates of the people as a whole.

That this description of decision-making oversimplifies the actual process is clear. Education itself has become a vast and complex undertaking, demanding in its operation a great body of specialized skills, knowledges, and understandings which are beyond the experience and in some cases the comprehension of the ordinary citizen and even many board members. And during the past century, as a consequence of these changes in the scope and character of the educational enterprise, the board of education has been compelled to create as its agent the professional school administrator. The latter, in turn, working with the board, has been compelled to create a special staff of assistants, principals, and supervisors, varying in number and function according to the size and nature of the undertaking.

The official theory is also at variance with reality in another respect. However great the public interest and however decisive a school election may appear to be, the board of education is rarely permitted to deliberate in solitude, insulated between elections from the play of social forces. On the contrary, its members, the superintendent, the administrative staff, and even the teachers are subjected continuously to pressures from individuals and groups in the community. One of the most striking features of American society is the presence of innumerable voluntary and quasi-voluntary organizations which are actively engaged in advancing some cause or interest. Many of these organizations

are deeply concerned about the education of the young, and some are actually formed to bring about this or that reform in the public school, or even to abolish the institution altogether. It is thus in a situation seething with conflict and pressure, rather than in a soundproof council chamber, that decisions regarding education must be made.

Confronted with this condition many have doubtless nurtured the thought that these so-called pressure groups should be abolished or at least that the school should enjoy practical immunity from their impact. Unfortunately for such wishful thinking, the voluntary association, provided it is not dedicated to criminal or predatory purposes, is a distinctive mark of a liberal democratic society. Wherever men are free they will combine to form organizations to advance whatever interests or purposes may be close to their hearts. This basic truth is demonstrated by the behavior of the contemporary totalitarian states. As soon as a dictatorial party comes to power it proceeds immediately to destroy or "coordinate" all voluntary associations. The activities of voluntary groups and associations constitute an essential element in the creative process under the regime of liberty. Moreover, many excellent reforms in the field of education, even the establishment of the public school itself, may be traced to the persistent activity and agitation of organized groups.

This does not mean that all is well in this crucial department of American life. Nor does it mean that these groups should not be expected to operate under appropriate restraints of law, custom, public opinion, and individual conscience. Clearly they should be disciplined to base their judgments on fact, avoid calumny and vituperation, and respect the canons of truth and honesty. Here is an important task for the future in which education should play an important role. But in the meantime the making of decisions in education will have to proceed in the world as it is. For an indefinite period, and perhaps as long as freedom endures, the conduct of the public school in America will be subjected not only to informed criticism but also to violent attack and grievous misrepresentation. Such is the price which men must pay in order to live in a free society.

The issue, however, should not be allowed to rest at this point. In the process of decision-making the enlightened leader will steadfastly refuse to pursue a policy of *laissez faire* and simply hope for the best. On the contrary, he will strive to understand the social reality and

utilize in action all available resources of technique, knowledge, and thought. One of our most distinguished historians, as he contemplated the current crisis in the world, once expressed the faith that the development of the social and human sciences in the modern age might enable men to avoid the catastrophes which have overwhelmed many societies and civilizations in the past. A major task confronting free men today is to bring this emerging body of knowledge and thought to bear not only on the highest tasks of national statesmanship but also on the conduct of the affairs of the local community.

The school administrator should be well grounded during the period of pre-service training in these sciences, in history, anthropology, sociology, economics, government, law, social psychology, and philosophy. The program of preparation should be designed, not to develop the specialist, but rather to produce the generalist who will know when to turn to the specialist for expert counsel and assistance. Such counsel and assistance are clearly necessary both in the study of the community and in the employment of the most effective techniques for dealing with social forces and relationships. If the quality of decision-making in education is to be improved, the resources of the social and human sciences will have to be incorporated into the process. Only through the services of the expert can a democracy make full use of the advance of relevant knowledge and thus introduce into its operations the highest possible degree of rationality and sanity.

## 2. *The Role of the School Administrator*

The school administrator occupies a central position in the organization and conduct of education in America. Ordinarily he is the most highly paid employee of the board of education. More than anyone else he is held responsible for the operation of the entire educational undertaking. To him and through him run the lines of force from the teaching and service personnel on the one side and from the board of education and the community on the other. If something goes wrong in either sphere, he will hear about it and perhaps be censured; if all goes well, he will receive a fair measure of the credit. Because of the very nature of his function he is always in the most exposed position in the perennial controversies over education. And the criticisms may come from any direction.

Whether the service rendered by the administrator is qualitatively superior to that rendered by the teacher of either the first grade or the twelfth is a question to be left to the philosophers. The administrator and the teacher are both essential to the successful conduct of education. Each has a unique contribution to make to the highly complicated process of rearing the young in our American society. Also each requires certain special qualifications which the other need not possess. Yet the fact remains that the administrator wields great influence which may be used for good or ill in the task always confronting the entire teaching profession, the task of improving the quality of our education and strengthening both the material and the spiritual foundations of our democracy. And where influence resides, there decisions are made. It is in this realm of decision-making that the administrator may rise to the highest levels of democratic leadership and statesmanship or sink to the depths of political opportunism, selfish manipulation, or autocratic rule.

On taking office the administrator inherits a legacy of decisions made by his predecessors and by generations of teachers, educators,

and other men of vision reaching back to John Dewey, Henry Barnard, Horace Mann, Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin, Jean Jacques Rousseau, and John Locke, and on through the Christian fathers to Plato, Socrates, and the prophets of ancient Israel. This legacy constitutes the underpinning of the current educational program. If the administrator is wise, he will strive to understand this legacy before he proposes to change it. But, since situations demanding decision will press upon him from all sides, as we have noted, he will scarcely be permitted to sit quietly on the job and hold matters *in statu quo* for an indefinite period. Often he must act before he is fully prepared to act. In fact this is a common experience for every superintendent of schools. Obviously the element of error can be reduced only by a broad and rich professional preparation.

Early in his first post, and even in any new post, the administrator should distinguish between decisions of procedure and decisions of substance. That the two categories overlap and interpenetrate is obvious. Moreover, the experience of the United Nations during its brief career, as well as the record of man's long struggle against tyranny, demonstrates that a decision of procedure may also be a decision of substance of the very first order. Fundamental congruence of means and ends is an essential condition of human freedom. Yet the distinction would seem to possess a measure of validity and utility.

Decisions of procedure have to do essentially with modes of operation which ordinarily are prior and basic to decisions of substance. Some of the more important may be suggested by the following questions: Should the superintendent follow or lead the educational forces of the community? Should he surrender to the strongest pressures or endeavor to deal with them positively and direct them into constructive channels? How should he employ his limited time and energies? Should he distinguish between great and small matters, and devote himself primarily to the former? On what questions should he delegate authority of decision to other members of the staff? Should he employ the authoritative method in routine matters and the cooperative in creative situations involving intimately the welfare of several or many persons, or requiring the pooling of experience, knowledge, and thought? To what extent and by what methods should he utilize the intellectual and moral resources of the teaching staff, the board of education, the community, and outside experts in making decisions?

How should he proceed in making decisions of substance? In terms of persons involved in the process should he distinguish between policy-making and administration? Should he reserve some time each week during working hours for study, writing, reflection, and personal growth? Should he participate actively in the organizational life of his profession, attending meetings, presenting papers, serving on committees, and holding office? How should he work with the board of education and the forces of the community? These and many other questions involve decisions of procedure.

Decisions of substance have to do primarily with the purposes, content, emphases, and tendencies of the educational program. What school buildings should be constructed, and where, and how equipped? What should be the qualifications of teachers, the conditions of advancement, and the rates of compensation? Should a Communist or a member of any other totalitarian movement be permitted to teach in the public schools? At what age should children be admitted, and how should they be promoted from year to year? Should Negro and white, Catholic and Protestant, Christian and Jewish children attend the same school and associate on a plane of equality in the same classroom and on the playground? What should be the content and organization of the curriculum? What knowledge is of most worth in the present age of science and technology? Should Latin, English grammar, sex education, or world citizenship be included in the program of instruction? Should children be "indoctrinated" in "the American way of life"? And what is the meaning of these terms? Should the schools teach about Communism and other totalitarian systems? Should religious instruction be prescribed for all pupils? If so, in what form and in what grades? Should the "fundamentals" be stressed more than they are? Should the freer methods of instruction be more widely adopted? Should student government be recognized as an essential part of preparation for citizenship? If so, in what grade should it begin, and what should be the responsibility of the teaching staff for its conduct? Should the curriculum of the school be revised in the light of the great changes which have occurred during the past half-century in our American society and in the world? These questions, and countless others, call for decisions of substance.

All decision-making involves values. The primitive artisan, as he selects and shapes a bit of stone for the head of his arrow, is guided

by considerations of value, even as the statesman of the United Nations when he frames, advances, or supports one policy rather than another. In either case the decision is made in terms of better or worse, of more or less useful, of more or less aesthetically satisfying, in terms of either instrumental or intrinsic values, or both. And so when a superintendent of schools chooses between alternatives or among several possibilities he applies some standard of values, some judgment of right and wrong, of good and bad. He may of course be influenced by a narrow self-interest, by a limited loyalty to social class, or by a broad and enlightened conception of the general welfare. Also he may be controlled by values hidden in his dispositions or his prejudices, of which he is wholly unaware. But if he is to achieve the level of statesmanship in his profession he must know well his own system of values and that of the society which he serves. Indeed he must have deep convictions regarding what is good for the children in his schools, for his community, for his country, and perhaps in this age, for all mankind. He must have clear and articulate convictions regarding what is desirable.

Decision-making also requires knowledge and understanding of what is possible in a given situation. The whole history of the human race demonstrates that no generation can jump out of its skin, that no people can leap from barbarism to civilization, that no people can by act of will open the gates of Utopia. All decisions, therefore, must be made in the clear light of knowledge of existing forces and conditions. The primitive artisan may dream of a modern rifle, and the statesman may dream of one world founded on the principles of peace, justice, and equality for all men. But neither can realize his dream by ignoring the stubborn realities of his day and situation, the actual level of the practical arts in the one case, and the division of the world between tyranny and freedom in the other.

And so a superintendent of schools may have visions of establishing the most modern system of education in a poverty-stricken community or of abolishing the practice of racial segregation where it is deeply embedded in law and custom, but the fulfillment of such visions must go hand in hand with the establishment of conditions which make them possible. This does not mean that dreams and visions do not have their role in human affairs. Obviously they do. Nor does it mean that fuller knowledge may not make some things possible that appear impossible. Like the artist or the engineer, the superintendent must strive to

achieve mastery of the tools and materials with which he has to work. Moreover, in a given situation he may choose to stand by his convictions, lose his job, and thereby advance his cause and achieve a measure of success beyond the reach of the timid and unimaginative.

Martyrs have their role in education, as well as in politics, science, art, and religious prophecy, but the decision to become a martyr is personal in character and should be made only after mature deliberation. All of this merely means that knowledge of both conditions and consequences is essential to wise and successful decision-making.

The superintendent of schools in America must know his society, his civilization, and his people. Today we hear much about the "American way of life." The reformer and the standpatter, the liberal and the conservative, even the radical and the reactionary, commonly appeal to this formulation in defense of their diverse and conflicting positions and proposals. As a consequence some would contend that the expression should be abandoned as completely useless. Others would say that it can mean nothing more or less than the total complex of the behavior patterns, the institutional forms, the body of ideas and values, and the life conditions of our people at any given time. If taken in this sense it would be practically meaningless, because it would be in perpetual flux and bereft of abiding qualities or features.

It is contended here that there is an "American way of life" which persists both amid and through change and which should play a central role in all decision-making in education. This way of life, though never fully accepted by all of our people, is found in basic institutions, processes, conceptions, principles, and ideals. It is expressed most profoundly perhaps in our constitutional system, through which the people may rule themselves and achieve the most fundamental changes in social institutions by means of free association, discussion, and thought under a regime of law. It is expressed in the subordination of the military to the civil authority, the separation of church and state, the protection of individual rights and liberties, and the wide distribution of economic, political, social, and cultural power. It is expressed in our institutions of education and enlightenment and in what we call the democratic process. It is supported and given direction and meaning by a body of values which in the main constitutes an essential part of Western civilization. Although we often violate these values, they constitute the essence of our moral and spiritual heritage.

This heritage is derived from many sources, ancient and modern. It embraces the ideas of individual worth and dignity, of human equality and brotherhood, of mercy and compassion, of the Hebraic-Christian ethic. It embraces the conception of a common humanity, the faith in the creative power of the free mind, and the affirmation of the perfectibility of man and his institutions, of the humanistic spirit. It embraces the idea of untrammelled inquiry, the devotion to the intellectual virtues of precision, integrity, and love of truth, of science and scientific method. It embraces the commitment to the orderly and peaceful adjustment of disputes and conflicts of interest of the British political tradition. It embraces finally the bold affirmation of the democratic faith that the people, all of the people, should participate in the selection of their rulers and in the framing of the broad policies of government; that, in a word, they should be free and be entrusted with both power and responsibility. Here is the body of values which should be understood and applied by all who make decisions in the realm of public education. It should be regarded as an indispensable part of the equipment of every educational administrator.

The superintendent of schools should also have knowledge and understanding of the present epoch and of the position of the United States in the world. A new civilization is rising in America and throughout the earth, a civilization founded on science and technology which is coming to be called industrial, a civilization so strange in its forms, so vast in its reaches, so complex in its patterns, and so mighty in its energies that thoughtful men and women fear that the control of its operations may prove beyond the powers of mankind. So great are the changes already wrought in our life conditions that the Founding Fathers of the Republic, if they could return to the earth, would feel bewildered in the America of today. The advance of science and technology has transformed the material foundations of our early agrarian society. It has so changed the modes of production, exchange, and communication that we live now in a highly differentiated and closely integrated society from coast to coast and from the Lakes to the Gulf. It has released and harnessed energies so fabulous that we scarcely dare contemplate them, energies which might push the entire human family into the abyss or which might in the course of a few generations lift all mankind into a condition of material security and relative abundance.

The world and our position among the nations have also been transformed. The center of political, industrial, and military power, after resting for five centuries in western Europe, has shifted eastward and westward; the great colonial empires formed during the modern period by European states are in process of disintegration; the colored and colonial peoples are rising everywhere; revolutions and counter-revolutions have overwhelmed country after country; two world wars within a single generation have shattered many of the hopes of the late nineteenth century; and Russia, fraudulently carrying the banners of human liberation, casts the shadow of despotism over all mankind. And in an incredibly brief period of time, as forces move in history, we have advanced from the status of European colony to the position of the most powerful nation of the world. As a consequence, wholly unprecedented responsibilities for the future of humanity rest on our shoulders. Without our technical knowledge, industrially backward countries will be retarded in their efforts to raise standards of living. Without our industrial might, the free world will be unable to oppose successfully Soviet aggression. Without our material strength and moral leadership, directed by the most enlightened statesmanship through the coming years and decades, the hope of enduring peace may vanish from the earth and the entire heritage of human freedom may be destroyed. The eyes of all peoples are therefore anxiously fixed upon us. Such things must be understood by those who would make decisions for American education in these troubled times.

Commitment to the basic values of a free society and understanding of the fundamental realities of the age are equally essential to wise decision-making. Yet something more is required. The school administrator might be able to pass a comprehensive examination on our spiritual heritage, our democratic constitutional system, and the facts of the contemporary world and yet fail to sense their full implications in a decision-making situation. Because of the weight of tradition or of the power factors immediately involved, he might treat a major decision as a minor one, or vice versa. He should therefore strive always to utilize to the maximum his resources of knowledge and conviction and thus cultivate the capacity to see fully and clearly a decision-making situation in its relations to our American values and the stubborn realities of the emerging age.

From all that has been said in the present chapter it is clear that the

school administrator, if he is to achieve the stature of an educational statesman, must become a student of our civilization in its historical and world relations. He must also bring scholarship into the service of life. And since in a very special sense he is a guardian of the long future of his country and his people, he requires a level of intellectual and moral equipment unsurpassed by that of workers in any other profession. An analysis and exposition of a few common decision-making situations in the following pages should make this truth evident.

Perhaps a word of caution should be expressed concerning the treatment of these decision-making situations. In no instance should the pattern employed be regarded as a recipe or a formula to be followed blindly. The emphasis throughout is on the values to be applied and the historical realities to be taken into account rather than on the method used in dealing with a given situation. The method should be viewed primarily as a vehicle for revealing and expounding the values and realities involved. Although the method is thought to be appropriate in each case, the choice of other methods might be entirely defensible. Moreover, the fact must be recognized that, since no two communities are precisely alike and since a given community is always changing, every decision-making situation is in the last analysis unique. Consequently, the present volume would fail in its purpose if it should convey to the reader the idea that there is any substitute for knowledge, thought, and invention in making any important decision in the field of education.

*Part Two*

**SOME DECISION-MAKING SITUATIONS**



### 3. Patterns of Administration

A school superintendent, after many years of service in a prosperous urban community, retires on account of age. The board of education welcomes his retirement, because it had been aware for some time of growing opposition to his leadership on the part of both the professional staff and the community. Apparently he had been either unable or unwilling to modify his thought and practice in terms of changing conceptions of administration and human relations. New teachers in particular were critical of his procedures. Shortly before his retirement the differences between superintendent and teachers culminated in a city-wide strike of school personnel.

The new superintendent immediately finds himself in a difficult situation. He discovers that he has inherited from his predecessor not only the suspicion and ill will of the main body of teachers but also an essentially authoritarian pattern of administration. At the first meeting of the board of education he suggests that the trouble probably lay, not primarily in the person of the former superintendent, but rather in certain administrative conceptions and practices which had developed through the years as the community had grown and the school system had expanded. Although the board members do not quite know what

he means, they authorize him to study the situation and bring in recommendations for reform.

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A systematic inquiry into the source of the friction between the old superintendent and the teachers reveals a condition which has been not uncommon in both education and industry. The man possessed many qualities which had been much admired by members of the board and influential elements in the community.

He had been trained for his post in an earlier period in a department of school administration in one of our great universities. He was intelligent and conscientious. He was a man of great energy and industry. He was indefatigable in his labors for the improvement of the school system placed in his charge. In the course of the years he developed a state-wide and even a nation-wide reputation for efficiency. He gathered around himself an exceptionally able technical staff of associates and supervisors. With the assistance of this staff and a few specialists from a neighboring college of education he prepared a course of study which outlined in minute detail the content and method of instruction for each subject in each grade from the first to the twelfth inclusive. He took great pride in the fact that at any hour of the day and on any day in the year he knew precisely what was going on in every classroom. Periodically he arranged for the measurement by objective tests of pupil progress throughout the system. He believed firmly in the principle of one-man management and held himself and each member of his staff, including every classroom teacher, responsible for the tasks assigned to him in the official set of instructions. In his opinion nothing should be left to chance or to the judgment or caprice of a subordinate. His annual reports were models of clarity and precision. He was often admired for his complete "mastery of his job."

It was found also that the former superintendent had established in many quarters both at home and throughout the state and country a reputation for being in the vanguard of educational progress. In fact, he often remarked that he was among the first to introduce this or that reform designed to increase the efficiency of instruction or modernize the formal curriculum of the schools. In his early years he was deeply devoted to the study of the science of education. In the use of standardized tests of school achievement he led the procession in his

region. He even collaborated in the construction of tests in spelling and arithmetic. He studied the Taylor System of factory management, conducted "time and motion studies" of the teaching process, and adopted a scientific rating scale for promoting teachers and fixing rates of compensation. He strove always to keep abreast of the very latest improvements in buildings, equipment, and systems of accounting. In 1940, aware of advancing knowledge and changing social conditions, he persuaded the board of education to authorize a general reconstruction of the curriculum. And after the founding of the United Nations, in which he thoroughly believed, he introduced into the high schools a course in world citizenship which had been prepared by members of his central staff under his immediate direction. From all of this it might appear that he was always well ahead of his community and was providing leadership of the first order.

When the new superintendent arrives at this point in his report to the board of education of the results of the inquiry, he is interrupted by one of the members and asked whether the teachers may not have been at fault. In response to the question he replies that in his opinion the real difficulty resided in his predecessor's conception of the role of the teacher in the educational enterprise. This conception is revealed not only in the methods of operation already reported, which are essentially authoritarian in nature, but also in certain maxims which the former superintendent liked to repeat on all occasions. One such maxim was that "the school is run for the children and not for the teachers"; another, that "the job of the teacher is to teach and not to try to run the school system." Each of these statements obviously contains an element of truth. But it would be equally true to say that the school is run for the community and not for the superintendent or even for the board of education, or to say that the job of the superintendent is to administer and not to teach or prescribe the patterns of teaching.

There is involved here a central question regarding the conduct of enterprise in a free society. One of the most basic values of such a society, a value which we strive to cultivate in the young through the school, is respect for the worth and dignity of the individual. Obviously, a teacher who does not experience a sense of worth and dignity in his own life and calling can scarcely be expected to transmit it to his pupils. We do not ask a teacher who does not himself know how to

read to teach reading. No more should we expect him to teach the values of democracy if he is not allowed to practice them. No procedure therefore which tends to degrade the person of a teacher or which fails to contribute the maximum to his growth as a person can be justified in terms of efficiency. A major object of a system of school administration in a free society should be the promotion of the growth of teachers as people. This can be achieved only by identifying the individual with the total enterprise so that he may have a feeling of accomplishment. Only so, too, can his full energies be released.

It is an interesting fact that industrial management is discovering this to be true in the production of automobiles, the building of bridges, and the manufacture of material things in general. We are told that workers sometimes launch strikes or "drag their feet" not just to improve material conditions or to obtain higher wages but to achieve recognition, relieve frustration, and establish their dignity as human beings. We must realize in our practice that it is the whole person who works and teaches, and not just the specialist.

There is yet another compelling reason for abandoning the authoritarian pattern of school administration. Every system should strive to make full use of the talents of the members of the entire teaching staff. Knowledge, wisdom, conscience, and creative powers are by no means confined to the superintendent's office. Practically every teacher possesses these qualities in some measure and, what is equally important, in a unique form. Genuine leadership, therefore, comes primarily, not from the exercise of arbitrary power, even though sanctioned by law and custom, but from the ability to achieve consensus, or at least willing acceptance, by releasing and utilizing the creative energies of all concerned under a system of cooperative relationships and functioning. It strives to make certain that the voice of every member of the staff is heard on matters of policy by which he may be seriously affected personally, to which he may contribute substantially, in which he may be interested professionally, or through which he may grow in stature either as a teacher or as a human being.

The former superintendent also followed an essentially authoritarian course in dealing with the board of education and the community. He expected the board to approve without substantial suggestion or criticism all proposals which he and his staff of experts had prepared within the limitations of the budget. Furthermore, convinced that the

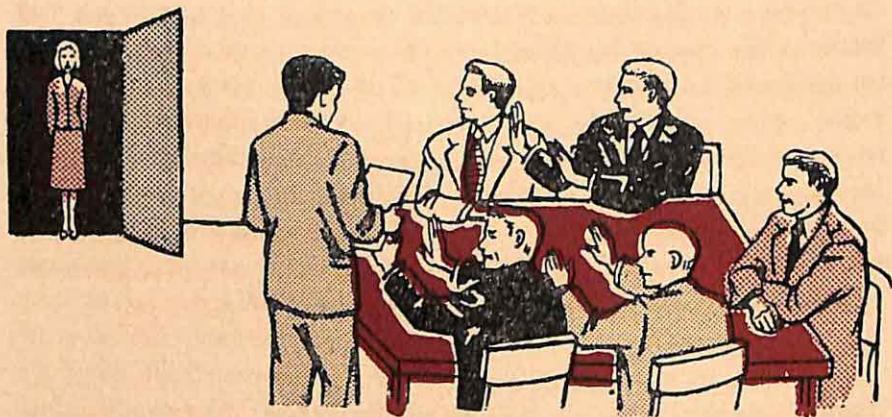
conduct of education is a highly complicated business, which it is, and requires the service of a great body of specialized skills and knowledge, which it does, he tended to resent any interference on the part of the public in the management of the schools. On the principle that "every workman should stick to his last," he asked parents and citizens to place the same confidence in him that they commonly place in their physicians, dentists, engineers, and lawyers. It seems probable, therefore, that, if the teachers had not revolted, various elements of the community would have made trouble sooner or later.

The fact is that public education in our free society is and always has been a *public* undertaking in a very vital sense. Interested citizens, working with members of the teaching profession, have made our school system what it is today and will make it what it will be tomorrow. And this process of interaction between teachers and citizens is not confined to the periods of election, but goes on unceasingly throughout the year. To build a "Chinese wall" around the school is impossible; but, even if it were possible, to do so would be a mistake. It is impossible because the community embraces powerful organized and unorganized interests which will not and cannot be silenced. It would be a mistake because the community contains rich human resources, resources of knowledge, thought, conscience, and experience, which should be utilized to improve and vitalize the program of the school. Moreover, challenges from the citizens, though often uninformed and sometimes malicious, may serve in the last analysis both to strengthen sound traditions and to promote desirable innovations.

The study of the social forces and the human resources of the community therefore should be a continuing responsibility of the administration and the teaching staff. Out of this study should emerge a process of intercommunication which would reduce explosive situations to a minimum, and a system of cooperative relationships which would make the school both truly professional and truly public. The establishment of such a process of intercommunication and such a system of cooperative relationships involves a decision of procedure which is quite as important as any decision of substance. It is at this point that the former superintendent failed, in spite of his many admirable qualities and his unquestioned devotion to the cause of public education.

The new superintendent, however, advises the board against hasty

and ill-considered action. The road ahead, he says, is strewn with pitfalls and should be traversed with informed caution. Social traditions and established patterns of behavior are as real as the material world of buildings and landscapes. They cannot be transformed overnight or by any magical formula. Superintendents have sometimes failed as disastrously by moving too rapidly or precipitously toward "democratization" as by clinging blindly to "authoritarian" ways. The fact is that some teachers find satisfaction in submission to some ordered routine and may even prefer to be told what to do. Others doubtless derive more pleasure from criticizing policies imposed upon them than from helping to frame policies of their own. And this observation may apply to some lay citizens, whether organized or unorganized. Moreover, the history of human revolt demonstrates that the power to throw off an oppressive system provides no surety of the ability to build a regime of freedom. The superintendent, therefore, proposes that the modification of the procedures and conceptions of his predecessor be regarded as an educational undertaking in itself which should involve both the professional staff and the community. He proposes further that in this undertaking he himself assume the role of a teacher—one of the highest and most essential roles of an administrator in a free society.



## 4. *The Minority Teacher*

A teacher belonging to a certain religious sect applies for a position in the schools of a community populated overwhelmingly by another denomination. In terms of professional preparation, teaching experience, and personal traits she appears to be the best qualified of all the applicants. But the community is vigorously intolerant in matters of church affiliation and has never employed a teacher of her persuasion. Nevertheless, the superintendent of schools, who is relatively new on the job, recommends the appointment at a regular meeting of the board of education.

The president of the board, who is himself a devout member and an elder in the dominant local church, asks the superintendent to withdraw his recommendation or at least agree to postponement of action until the next meeting. In the meantime members of the community learn of the incident, take sides, and enter into violent controversy. Some citizens presume to see the hand of an ecclesiastical conspiracy in the affair. Others contend that the church affiliation of the applicant is entirely irrelevant. While the dispute is raging the board meets again.

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The superintendent opens the discussion with a frank admission of

poor judgment in his handling of the case. Observing that he had worked in other communities where the appointment of a teacher of a minority religious sect was in no sense exceptional and did not arouse opposition from any responsible source, he says that he had anticipated no difficulty in this instance. He states, moreover, that he had resolved the issue for himself long ago in terms of basic American values and principles. But he now realizes that he should have foreseen the reaction of the community, which is quite understandable, and should have initiated measures designed to prepare both teachers and citizens for a situation which in the course of time was sure to arise. Then, after proposing that the board take advantage of the present controversy to educate all concerned respecting the values and principles at stake, he presents the case as he sees it in the following brief statement.

"The issue of the right of a teacher of any religious faith or of no organized faith at all to teach in the public schools of any community goes to the roots of our American way of life. In our origins and in the present composition of our population we are a nation, not only of many ethnic and racial groups, but also of many religious sects. Today we support 265 religious bodies with a combined membership of approximately ninety million. The total Protestant congregation is about fifty-five million, the Roman Catholic twenty-nine million, and the Jewish five million. It should be noted too that a substantial proportion of our people are not formally affiliated with any church. Our social system and our civilization rest on the bold assumption that men and women and children differing profoundly in the realm of religious belief can live together in harmony, tolerance, and mutual respect. In the light of the long historical record of religious prejudice, hatred, and conflict in the world this experiment in human understanding would seem to be quite as daring as our experiment in democratic constitutional government.

"In confronting this situation the Founding Fathers of our Republic repudiated the doctrine of an established church and separated church and state in the fundamental law of the land. During the generations immediately following, as we struggled with the problem of popular enlightenment, we rejected as a general policy ecclesiastical direction of public education and launched the common school on its course, a school which was to enroll children from all religious sects and be

controlled by none. Obviously, the basic principle here implies not only that all children will be admitted freely, but also that teachers of diverse church affiliations and teachers belonging to no organized religious body may be appointed without prejudice to any post in the institution. Only in this way can the common moral and spiritual values of our civilization be cultivated in the young and a foundation for understanding and sympathy be laid in experience. Here lies the road to unity in diversity.

"Discrimination against any sect or group in the employment of teachers would clearly place in severe jeopardy our system of free public education and perhaps kindle the fires of religious bigotry and hostility. There is, of course, one thing more that should be said. Regardless of church membership, no person should be appointed to a post in the common school who is not in agreement with its basic principles.

"The issue may take other forms in other communities. The country today, as we have noted, is marked by great diversity in religious matters. There are many localities in which the population is overwhelmingly Protestant as there are others where it is overwhelmingly Catholic. Should Catholic teachers be barred from the classrooms of the former and Protestants from those of the latter? And there are some districts inhabited almost exclusively by Jews. Should the application of a Christian teacher of whatever sect for a public school post be summarily rejected on religious grounds? The logic of discrimination might lead a Methodist community to raise the barrier against a Baptist, a Presbyterian, or perhaps a Seventh Day Adventist. It might also lead to exclusion on the basis of racial or national origins. Although a majority may have the power to impose its will on a minority, and although the author of the Declaration of Independence once observed that 'the *lex majoris partis* is the fundamental law of every society of individuals of equal rights,' the Fathers of our Republic wrote into the constitution certain provisions designed to protect minorities against the tyranny of majorities.

"The march of world events makes necessary the viewing of the issue under controversy from yet another perspective. In terms of communication the entire earth has become a little neighborhood. In the present struggle on the part of mankind to establish a limited reign of law among the nations, our country, because of its great

power, has been thrust into a position of leadership. As a consequence of this new and unanticipated role from which we cannot escape, our actions in every sphere are being subjected to unprecedented and pitiless scrutiny by all peoples. If our behavior at home, even in such a humble sphere as the conduct of the public school, manifests a spirit of intolerance and bigotry, our capacity to lead the peoples of the world in all their religious diversity in the sublime venture to achieve unity and peace is certain to be questioned."

In the light of these considerations the superintendent recommends to the board and the community the approval of the appointment of the teacher belonging to a minority religious sect. And he recommends further that the new teacher be warmly received by all the citizens. After some weeks of discussion the board supports his recommendation by a majority vote and the community as a whole accepts the decision. But the superintendent knows that years will have to pass before the prejudices which aroused the controversy are finally laid to rest. He sees here an educational task for the future.



## 5. *The United Nations*

The senior class at Central High School is authorized by the faculty to assume major responsibility for commencement exercises. A student committee goes to work enthusiastically and succeeds in getting the event well publicized in the local press and by other means. As a consequence, on the appointed evening an unusually large number of parents and citizens turn out to celebrate the successful completion of twelve years of study by two hundred and thirty-six boys and girls. The high school auditorium is crowded.

Several persons present note the flag of the United Nations hanging alongside The Star-Spangled Banner over the rostrum. Following the exercises, this fact is discussed at length and with some passion in the home of a member of the audience. It is argued by some that the two flags symbolize the teaching of divided loyalties and imply the weakening of patriotic sentiments in the younger generation.

From this small beginning there develops a citizens' movement which conducts an inquiry into the curriculum of the public schools of the community. This inquiry reveals, among other things, the display of the United Nations flag in many classrooms, the use of materials from the United Nations and UNESCO, and the teaching of something called "world citizenship." In the course of time a Citizens' Committee,

representative of interested groups, calls on the superintendent of schools and demands in the name of patriotism that all of these elements be removed from the program of instruction.

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The superintendent thanks the members of the committee for their interest in the work of the schools and particularly for their expression of concern regarding instruction in the vital and controversial area of international relations. He tells them frankly that he himself has given much attention to this question and that he has reasoned confidence in both the program and the teachers. He assures them too that the elements which have aroused their anxiety were introduced into the curriculum out of a deep love of country as well as from a regard for all mankind. However, since some of the citizens are plainly disturbed, he proposes that the issues at stake be thoroughly clarified so that all persons interested may understand what is actually going on in the schools and the reasons therefor. He recognizes that mistakes may have been made and that the program of instruction might be improved considerably.

After reporting the conference to the board of education the superintendent is authorized to take the steps deemed necessary to conduct a campaign of enlightenment and understanding in the community. He proceeds immediately to call a meeting of the members of his staff who are directly involved in the teaching of history and the social studies. At the meeting the whole question is discussed freely and at length. Eventually those present decide to arrange a series of lectures and discussions to be devoted to a consideration of the responsibility of the school to acquaint boys and girls with the institutions of the United Nations and with the current attempt to build a world organization designed to achieve peace among the nations. It is agreed further that the series will be open to parents, citizens, teachers, and high school students, and that a special effort will be made to insure the attendance of representatives of the various organized groups in the community, such as the churches, the civic and fraternal associations, the professional bodies, the chamber of commerce, and the labor unions. Members of the teaching staff will be primarily responsible for organizing and conducting the series.

The justification of instruction in world citizenship is expounded

first of all and at some length by a prominent clergyman of the community in terms of certain of our most basic moral commitments which are rooted in the Hebraic-Christian ethic and with which most of us have been familiar since early childhood, the idea of human brotherhood and the ideal of peace on earth. It is also expounded in terms of three stark and inescapable realities which our people are confronting for the first time in their history and which they can ignore only at their own peril—the annihilation of distance, the threat to human survival in the new and revolutionary weapons of warfare, and the rise of America to the position of leader of the free world and the most powerful industrial nation on the globe.

A teacher of American history develops the first of these realities by contrasting our geographical position today with the condition prevailing at the time of the founding of the Republic. Although we as a people were never isolated in any complete sense from the Old World, the great oceans east and west served for almost three centuries as powerful barriers against successful aggression from Europe and Asia. In his oft-quoted Farewell Address in 1796 Washington outlined a sound foreign policy for his day and for many days to follow. A little more than a generation later the great Frenchman, Alexis de Tocqueville, placed second among the ten "causes" of the success of our democracy "geographical position—no neighbors." For almost a century thereafter we nurtured and cherished the faith that, if we but cultivated our own garden, we could live in safety behind the ramparts provided by nature, and strengthened perhaps by the British navy. Today, because of the revolution in modes of transportation and communication brought about by the advance of science and technology, the oceans are vastly narrowed and in some respects distance has been all but annihilated. We stand exposed, therefore, to every storm that sweeps the earth. And we have already reached the time when the capitol at Washington is less than ten hours' flight by plane from any point on the earth. The geographical supports of our traditional policy of isolationism have been critically weakened.

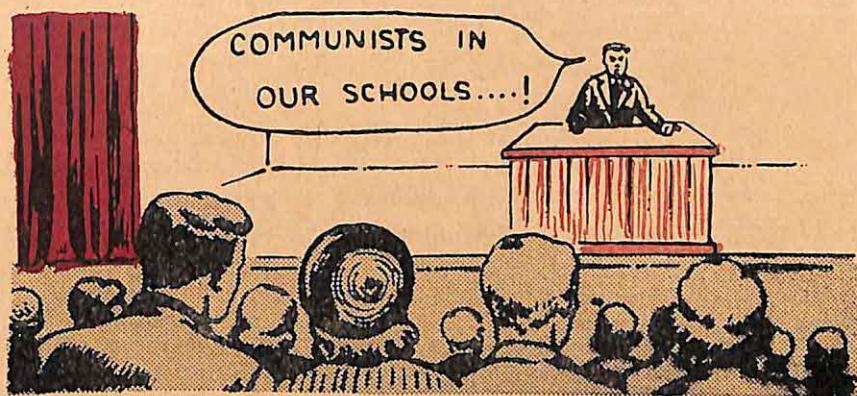
A teacher of physical science, who is interested in the social impact of discovery and invention, leads the discussion on the threat to human survival resident in the new weapons of warfare. After presenting a brief historical sketch, he observes that control of these engines of death is perhaps the most urgent task facing mankind. They have made

war so swift in its flight, so devastating in its impact, so total in its embrace that civilization itself, not in just one country but in all, is in gravest peril. Until this terrible scourge is driven from the earth, no one should nourish the delusion that our own land can remain inviolate. It seems quite likely that we shall live or perish along with the rest of mankind. And there is no hope for enduring peace except in some form of international organization. Precisely what the form should be we of course cannot know today. But this merely means that both the older and the younger generation should be urged to study this entire problem from all angles and with all seriousness. It might easily be argued that the schools today are giving too little attention to the matter.

The third great reality, the power position of the United States in the world, is presented by a teacher of economics. We began our national career a century and three-quarters ago as a feeble outpost of European civilization. The great military states of the Old World were little concerned over our policies and actions. Our weight in the affairs of nations, except as they might involve the fate of North America, was not seriously regarded. Today we stand before the nations as perhaps the mightiest state of all history. The total production of American industry almost equals that of the rest of the world. Our power is so great that what we do or fail to do will affect profoundly the course of history in all parts of the earth during the critical years ahead. Without our vigorous, sustained, and informed support the world organization now in its infancy is certain to perish. And if it should perish a third world war might bring utter devastation to our own land. Also, whether we like it or not, we are being cast by history in the role of the foremost guardian of human freedom in the present epoch. Unfortunately, our understanding and sense of responsibility still lag behind our physical strength. It would appear that one of the first tasks of our schools should be the development in both young and old of those intellectual, moral, and spiritual qualities which are required by our position of world leadership.

The point is emphasized again and again in the lectures and the discussions that there is no necessary conflict between love of country and concern for the building of a peaceful world. Indeed it is said repeatedly that deep love of country can be given truly intelligent expression in the current effort to abolish war as a means of settling differences among nations.

At the end of the series of meetings, which were well attended and marked by vigorous discussions, the members of the board are satisfied that the case for the program of instruction in world citizenship has been well presented. Yet they realize fully that many in the community remain unconvinced. The tradition of isolation and the suspicion of foreign social systems and ideologies are a part of our American culture. This would seem to mean that the task of preparing ourselves to live in the world as it is today is only well-begun.



## 6. *The "Communist Teacher"*

An agent of the National Council for the Protection of the Public School conducts a personal inquiry into the teaching of the social studies in the high school of a large suburb of a major industrial city. He discovers a textbook in use which in his opinion criticizes the "American way of life" and advocates "un-American doctrines." This discovery leads him to scrutinize the activities and affiliations of the members of the teaching staff.

Thereafter he gives a statement to the local and metropolitan press charging that the senior high school is seething with subversive influences and that at least one of the teachers is either a Communist or a fellow traveler. He enlists the sympathies of certain "patriotic" groups and organizes a public meeting which is addressed by several speakers on the subject of "The Communist Menace in Our Schools." A resolution demanding that the textbook be banned and the teacher dismissed is passed unanimously and sent to the board of education with a request for immediate action.

In the meantime friends of the teacher, including the parents of some of his students, rush to his defense. They arrange for him an interview with the press at which he makes a plea for toleration of di-

verse and conflicting opinions, and for the cultivation of the spirit of inquiry and informed criticism in the younger generation. A few days later leaflets are distributed on the street in front of the high school announcing a "mass meeting of all teachers, students, and workers to defend academic freedom and save our schools from Fascism." The list of speakers includes the name of the teacher under attack and several leaders of the Anti-Fascist League from the city. The meeting is held and the expected resolutions are passed, but the teacher fails to appear. On being questioned the next day, he reports that his name had been placed on the speaker's list without his consent or knowledge.

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The superintendent is greatly disturbed by the situation. For some time he had been fearing that something like this would happen. The "cold war" with world Communism had been going on for years, members of the American Communist Party had been convicted of espionage in the interests of the Soviet State, the "cold war" had become "hot" in Korea, the demand to "root out" Communists employed in government services had become widespread, and not a few citizens, moved by various purposes and considerations, had taken upon themselves the task of driving from the schools teachers suspected of having Communist sympathies. He realizes now that he should have prepared the board, the teachers, and the citizens for the storm which has been sweeping through the country for some days. Obviously, he soliloquizes, he should have inaugurated months before a sober and informed inquiry into the entire question of "subversive influences" in the schools and have arrived at some clear decisions of policy. However, he dismisses his regrets and proceeds to gather the facts bearing on the particular case which circumstances have thrust upon him.

Having made his findings, the superintendent reports to the board of education. The teacher cited for dismissal is in fact the head of the department of social studies in the high school. He is a mature man of excellent training, high scholarship, and independent mind. He is unusually popular with his students, has a reputation for stimulating critical thinking in his classes, and is known to be unalterably opposed to all forms of totalitarianism. The textbook cited for banning is on a list of carefully selected readings and deals primarily with contemporary social and political systems in the world, including the Soviet state and the world Communist movement. It contains a section on our American

system which embraces a critical examination of our practices in terms of our historic principles, values, and ideals.

The inquiry reveals further that the two meetings were inspired for the most part by persons from outside the community who had become professional agitators, making capital of the fears and prejudices of the people. A suggestion by the superintendent that the teacher be invited to an open hearing of the board of education to present his considered views on the question of Communist teachers is approved.

After responding to a few routine inquiries the teacher proceeds to analyze the problem and lay bare the values involved. He organizes his discourse around the following questions. First, what is academic freedom? Second, what is the Communist Party? Third, what is the obligation of the Party member with respect to Party doctrine and policy? Fourth, what conclusions should we draw from the answers to these questions regarding the fitness of a Communist Party member to teach in our schools? Fifth, and last, what should be our program of action? The answers to these questions are briefly summarized below.

The tradition of academic freedom is one of the most glorious achievements of Western man. It is an authentic expression of the humanistic spirit which proclaims a militant faith in the powers of the mind, guards with utter devotion untrammeled inquiry into all realms of experience, and builds the moral and theoretical foundations of both political and intellectual liberty. Launched on its course perhaps by the ancient Athenians, this tradition has always led a precarious existence. At the level of scholarship, academic freedom may be defined as the right of a qualified scholar to pursue the search for truth in its many forms and to make public his methods and findings without coercion from church, state, or other external authority. At the level of teaching, it is the right of a qualified teacher to encourage freedom of discussion of controversial questions in the classroom and to develop in his pupils and students love of knowledge and truth. In all of its manifestations it rests on the assumption that the scholar or teacher himself pursues his studies with complete integrity and submits to no authoritarian control or discipline; that, in a word, he is a free man.

It is recognized that application of the principles of academic freedom at the public school level involves considerations which are not equally present in college and university. In the secondary school, teachers should take account of the relative immaturity of their stu-

verse and conflicting opinions, and for the cultivation of the spirit of inquiry and informed criticism in the younger generation. A few days later leaflets are distributed on the street in front of the high school announcing a "mass meeting of all teachers, students, and workers to defend academic freedom and save our schools from Fascism." The list of speakers includes the name of the teacher under attack and several leaders of the Anti-Fascist League from the city. The meeting is held and the expected resolutions are passed, but the teacher fails to appear. On being questioned the next day, he reports that his name had been placed on the speaker's list without his consent or knowledge.

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dents. The latter are less able than their older brothers and sisters to judge the objectivity of presentations made by their teachers and need more help in arriving at balanced views of most issues. The point should be emphasized also that academic freedom is not a civil or political right guaranteed in the Constitution, but rather a necessary condition for the successful practice of the academic profession in a free society.

The Communist Party, wherever it exists in the world, is not a political party at all in the sense in which the term is used in a society permitting the formation of rival parties. It is, rather, a conspiratorial organization, stemming from a nineteenth century Russian revolutionary tradition, prepared to employ any and all means in the struggle to capture the state and establish its absolute rule. It is a conspiratorial organization committed to the ruthless "liquidation" of all competing organizations following the seizure of power. It is, moreover, a conspiratorial organization unswervingly loyal to the policies and interests of a foreign state, or perhaps we should say to the dictates of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Because of its morals and methods it tends to corrupt everything it touches and endeavors to destroy the entire humanistic tradition.

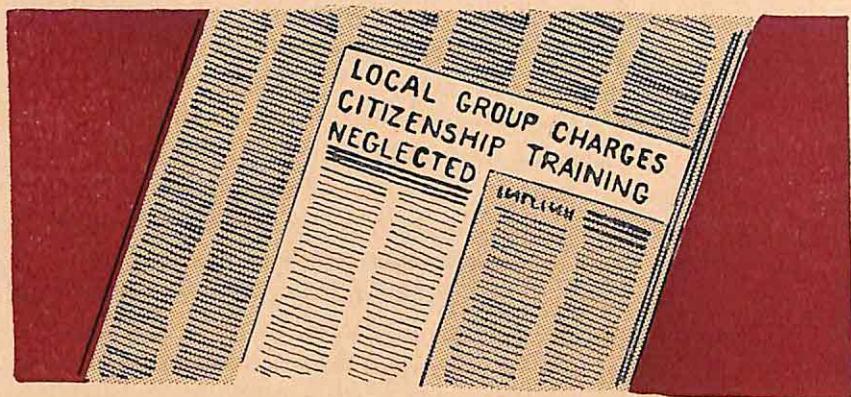
The Party member is required to submit to Party discipline. He must follow and defend the Party "line" through all of its twists and turns and reversals; he "must at all times take a position on every question that is in line with the policies of the Party." He must be prepared to lie and deceive in the interests of the Party, even "pretending to be something entirely different from what he is." He must join the Party "cell" or "fraction" in the locality in which he lives or the institution in which he works and there develop tactics or measures to recruit members and to advance Party policies and interests. He may or may not carry a Party card, and he usually denies membership.

The conclusions to be drawn from these facts are obvious. The Communist Party has not the slightest devotion to the principles of academic freedom. Whenever and wherever it achieves power it proceeds at once to establish the most all-embracing system of tyranny over the mind that man has ever known. Moreover, since in recent years the Central Committee in Moscow has laid down the "line" not only in the realms of philosophy, historical interpretation, and political action but also in the fields of literature, drama, music, art, science, and even

humor, the Party member works under coercion in almost every field of subject matter. He therefore cannot discharge his duties in accordance with the moral principles of academic freedom. He invokes this glorious tradition only for the purpose of ultimately destroying it.

But if we conclude, as we must, that a Communist has no right to teach in the schools of a free society, the problem is by no means solved. Because of the conspiratorial nature of Communist operations, it is far from easy to discover the Party member. And in our search for him we may, by spreading fear and suspicion among the teachers generally, unwittingly do more harm than good and undermine the very tradition of freedom in the schools which we want to guard and strengthen. In combatting Communism we must take care lest we adopt its totalitarian methods. Clearly, only those persons should be entrusted with the responsibility of dealing with the problem who are devoted to the ways of freedom and who are able to distinguish a Communist from a Marxist, a socialist, a liberal, a rugged individualist, or someone who believes in the Sermon on the Mount. In the long run we must place our trust in the enlightenment of our people regarding the true nature of Communism, and thus make clear to all its fraudulent appeal to liberal and humanitarian ideals. And we should be studying Communism as thoroughly and objectively as we have ever studied anything in our history. The cause of human freedom cannot be supported by ignorance. Here is a major task for our schools. But it is a task that can be performed only by an education which is unreservedly devoted to the development of minds both critical and informed.

At the close of his remarks the teacher receives an ovation. The superintendent thereupon recommends to the board that the selection of textbooks be left to the instructional staff, that the address just delivered be printed and widely distributed, and that the teacher be asked to offer to high school seniors a comprehensive course on the origin, history, methods, morals, and purposes of Communism. He recommends also that serious study of the nature of Communism be encouraged in the community through cooperation of school, church, library, and other agencies. Decision is postponed to a subsequent meeting at which the critics will be heard. There are still not a few citizens of influence in the community who contend that no study of Communism or about Communism should be permitted in the schools and that all books on the subject should be removed from the libraries.



## 7. *Teaching Citizenship*

Following a hotly contested national election a service club conducts a series of discussions on the results of the election. One speaker emphasizes the fact that in the country as a whole almost one-half of the eligible voters failed to cast their ballots, and that in some localities and states a much larger proportion of the citizens did not take the trouble to go to the polls on Election Day.

Alarmed by this condition and thinking that the schools are in some way responsible, the members of the club appoint a committee to consult with the superintendent of schools and the board of education on the broad question of training for citizenship. Although they have no specific proposals to offer, they are convinced that something ought to be done. At their first meeting with the educational authorities, however, they do suggest that perhaps the teaching of American history is being neglected, or that the federal Constitution is not being studied with sufficient seriousness. One member of the committee thinks that the introduction of the Flag Salute might serve to inculcate in the young a sense of civic responsibility.

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The superintendent expresses a deep interest in the problem and

adds that he and his staff have given much time and thought to the improvement of the program of training for citizenship in the schools. He points out, however, that the problem is very complex and lends itself to no simple solution. He points out further that the act of voting by no means encompasses the subject. Unless the citizen has some comprehension of the issues at stake in an election, the casting of a ballot may be merely a mechanical exercise. It is generally known that under the Soviet dictatorship over 99 per cent of the "eligible voters" turn out on "election day" and cast their ballots for a single slate of candidates. After considerable discussion a spokesman for the service club proposes the forming of a committee composed of qualified teachers and interested citizens to study the question. The superintendent welcomes the proposal because in his opinion training in citizenship should be regarded as a joint responsibility of school, home, church, business, labor, and community.

The facts gathered by the committee regarding the voting habits of the American people support in every respect the feeling of anxiety expressed by members of the service club. It is discovered that the democratic countries of Europe do much better on the whole than we do in getting the voters to the polls. More disturbing still is the fact that at the end of the last century approximately 80 per cent of our eligible voters exercised the right of franchise on Election Day. Studies show that, while many citizens are barred from voting by physical disability and legal and administrative obstacles, the majority of the delinquents are influenced by "disgust with politics" or by a condition of general "indifference and inertia." Doubtless many are so absorbed in their private affairs that they can find no time to devote to the public welfare. Some are so overwhelmed by the complexity and dynamism of life in the industrial age that they simply abandon the effort to understand. Still others perhaps assume that the citizen of a free society discharges his full civic duty by obeying the laws, paying taxes, going to church, being kind to his neighbors, and practicing all the family virtues. The committee concludes its analysis and study with the observation that education for citizenship should embrace four indispensable and closely related elements.

First, education for citizenship should strive to give the knowledge and understanding necessary for a free man living in the industrial age. The good citizen should be familiar with the main features of the his-

tory of his country and its place in the world. He should know something of the long human struggle for freedom and of the role of despotism, tyranny, and dictatorship in the experience of mankind. He should have a clear understanding of the nature of our democratic constitutional government, of government by law and orderly process, of government of, by, and for the people. He should have knowledge of the institutions and processes, of the military, economic, moral, spiritual, and cultural foundations, of political liberty. He should comprehend in all of its major parts the strange industrial civilization which is sweeping over our society and which has already submerged or obliterated much of the agrarian order of our ancestors. He should understand the many challenges and threats to our heritage of liberty which derive from these changed conditions at home and abroad and which beat upon us increasingly from every quarter of the globe. He should be familiar with the great issues, domestic and foreign, which he has to face in his generation. He should know too that the successful operation of government founded on liberty places the heaviest burdens on the powers of all the people, that with every individual right or freedom is linked a corresponding responsibility. These things, and many others, should be taught in the schools.

Second, education for citizenship should provide for the *practice* of good citizenship. Without knowledge the citizen is blind, not knowing where he is or where he is going. But knowledge alone is not enough, as the history of education plainly demonstrates. An individual may have an encyclopedic mastery of relevant facts and a philosophic grasp of thought and theory, and yet be a poor citizen. Moreover, the emphasis on knowledge in this realm has long been and still is the besetting sin of the classroom. This weakness can be corrected only if the life of the school is deliberately and effectively organized to develop in the young the habits and dispositions, the attitudes and loyalties of free people. Here boys and girls should learn by democratic procedures under wise and careful tutelage to make rules to govern their work and play, and to obey the rules they make. At appropriate ages they should be introduced, through numerous activities and organizations, to all the processes and institutions, rights and responsibilities of democratic citizenship. They should be led to acquire the basic loyalties of free men, the virtues of honesty, truthfulness, and fairness in debate and discussion, the ability to value and judge leadership, to select and depose officers

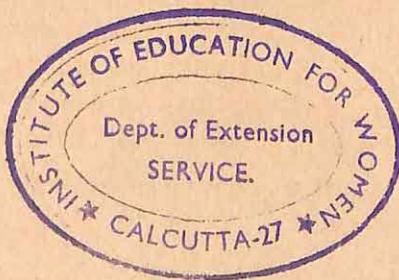
in the conduct of their common affairs. And the point should be emphasized that the practice of citizenship is not something to be acquired by children through the spontaneous and undisciplined pursuit of their divers interests. On the contrary, it can come only through a sustained process of learning under the watchful guidance of wise and devoted teachers.

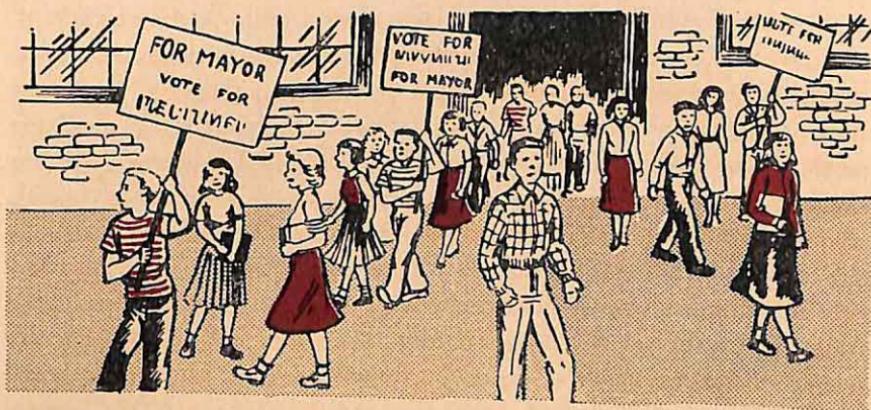
Third, education for citizenship should seek to cultivate in the young a deep and abiding sense of the worth of political liberty and of our heritage of freedom. Because of the troubles of our age and the resurgence of aggressive despotisms, this aspect of the problem takes on a crucial urgency. Perhaps the most effective way of achieving the desired goal, in addition to a study of the historical record, is to give boys and girls an opportunity to see what life is like where political liberty has been extinguished. And perhaps the most effective way of doing this is to introduce into the schools a thorough and realistic inquiry into the morals and practices of the contemporary totalitarian states. The entire system for holding a people in bondage in the age of advanced technology should be scrutinized and clearly understood—the concentration of absolute power in the hands of the dictatorship, the outlawing of all political dissent, the suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus*, the establishment of a huge army of secret police, the creation of a vast network of forced labor camps, the resort to torture in obtaining false confessions of guilt, the cultivation of abject obeisance to the “great leader,” and the launching of an all-embracing system of mind control. Fortunately the data necessary to present a relatively complete and trustworthy picture of life under dictatorship are available in abundance. By all means possible we should strive to arouse in the young a profound concern for the preservation and strengthening of the ways of liberty.

Fourth, education for citizenship should seek to cultivate in the young a devotion to and a sense of personal responsibility for the general welfare. More than two centuries ago Montesquieu observed that a republican form of government rests on “virtue”; and by virtue he meant “love of the laws and of our country,” a love which “requires a constant preference of public to private interest.” This, of course, is a counsel of perfection, but we can hope at least to approach it. The issue has been made both more difficult and more urgent by the rise of industrial society with its vast reaches and inter-

dependences. In the old agrarian days of the self-contained rural household and neighborhood the general welfare embraced for the most part merely the few score or the several hundred inhabitants of the local community. Today it embraces our entire American commonwealth from the Atlantic to the Pacific and from the Lakes to the Gulf, and to an ever-increasing degree the nations beyond the seas. In the earlier society the individual acquired a concern for the welfare of the neighborhood as a by-product of growing up among relatives and friends. In the great society of the industrial age he will acquire such concern only as a result of deliberate and systematic tuition. The problem is complicated by the development of powerful organized interests which may reach from one end of the country to the other and which tend to cultivate in their members narrow or limited group loyalties. One of the major tasks of free society today is to condition all citizens to place the welfare of the whole above the welfare of any one of its parts. This admonition is particularly applicable to those of fortunate circumstance.

The report of the committee leads to a critical examination of the curriculum of the schools from the first grade to the twelfth and to a decided shift of emphasis from mere factual knowledge to habits, attitudes, interests, loyalties, and understandings. Equally important perhaps, it leads to a degree of soul-searching on the part of both teachers and parents. When measured by the standards evolved in the study, many of them are constrained to admit that they are not good citizens. And it seems quite probable that the children are influenced more by what their elders do than by what they say.





## 8. *Students in Politics*

A group of high school seniors, inspired by their work in the field of social studies, become actively interested in a major political campaign. They associate themselves with the political parties, pass out campaign literature, ring doorbells in the neighborhood, and even make a few speeches on street corners. They also invite rival candidates to present their views on the issues before student gatherings in the high school auditorium.

Some of the citizens in the community become alarmed at this unprecedented display of political interest and activity. They contend that high school students are too immature to engage in politics, that they should devote their energies to the difficult and important task of *preparing* themselves for citizenship through the study of American history, the acquisition of relevant civic knowledge, and the development of their mental faculties. In a word, they contend that members of the younger generation should leave the management of the affairs of the community, state, and nation to their elders. After the lapse of some weeks they register a protest with the high school principal and the superintendent of schools.

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The principal and the superintendent, after listening respectfully to

the protest, proceed to give an explanation of the situation. The action of the students, they report, was not a spontaneous and undisciplined expression of adolescent spirit. Nor was it the result of the caprice of an individual teacher. On the contrary, it was an integral part of a new program of training for citizenship which had been developed over a period of several years by the entire professional staff working in the field of social studies. It was deliberately designed to bring knowledge of history and society into the service of practice, to give a kind of knowledge not found in the books, and to induct youth into the responsibilities of full citizenship. It was designed, moreover, to crown and give meaning to the entire program of civic training. It was designed also to meet divers criticisms of the work of the schools. Very briefly the principal and the superintendent outline the considerations which led the educational authorities to launch this particular experiment, considerations which perhaps should have been presented to the public at the beginning of the undertaking for general criticism, discussion, and suggestion.

For some time the schools of the nation had been subjected to anxious criticism from many sources for failing to turn out at the end of twelve years of instruction informed, responsible, devoted, and active citizens. This failure is revealed, according to the critics, in the widespread political apathy and incompetence of the people. Vast numbers show little interest in the great issues of the time and stay away from the polls on Election Day. In the midst of a critical campaign for the presidency, the governorship, or the office of mayor they choose to follow in the newspapers, over the radio, and on the television screen, not the course of political discussion, but the fortunes of their favorite comic characters, baseball teams, or prizefighters. Indeed, they may place a far higher priority on sensational stories of crime and scandal than on politics, unless politics becomes charged with crime and scandal. The critics say, moreover, that the high school tends to throw much of its influence on the side of this pattern of political escapism and irresponsibility by emphasizing in its extra-curricular activities competitive athletics and boy-and-girl relationships.

The fact is that activities outside the classroom do tend to possess a degree of vitality that is not usually found in the more formal program of instruction. An irreverent wit has remarked, with some truth,

that when one speaks of school life he must refer to these activities, because life is to be found nowhere else. Let it be said, however, that sports and social interests, if properly supervised, are by no means devoid of educational value. As a matter of fact, they provide excellent media for cultivating in the young good civic attitudes, ideals of fair play, and wholesome human relations. Nevertheless, they cannot be expected to provide the transition from the civic life of the school to the responsibilities of full citizenship in the adult community. Scientific studies demonstrated long ago that automatic transfer of powers from one field of activity to another cannot be assumed.

The objection that high school seniors are too immature to participate in the political process in the community should be examined in the light of conditions prevailing in our pre-industrial society. Although young people of comparable age in the old agrarian days did not enjoy the rights of suffrage, they were certainly no longer regarded as boys and girls. Individuals of both sexes were commonly on their own at eighteen years of age, making their living, taking pride in their physical and intellectual powers, and challenging their elders on the farm and in the neighborhood. Many of them were married, and some were already mothers and fathers. And they took an active interest in politics, influenced by precept and example in family and community. In the realm of citizenship, as well as in the realms of livelihood and marriage, industrial society has lengthened the period of dependence and created something of a gulf between education and life's activities and responsibilities. It should be added, perhaps, that in terms of intellectual powers the high school senior is probably as well equipped to discharge the duties of citizenship as the average voter of older years. President Eisenhower has recently proposed the lowering of the voting age from twenty-one to eighteen.

That this experiment in active participation in politics on the part of high school students would encounter difficulties and hazards was foreseen from the first. Citizens naturally fear that the teacher will tend to influence the students toward one party or another, according to his own political preferences. The solution would seem to be found in the resolute avoidance of partisan indoctrination and the encouragement of the freest possible discussion of all issues by the students. Another hazard arises out of the fact that firsthand experience in the political struggle is sure to reveal certain unsavory and corrupt prac-

tices, perhaps involving important personalities in the community. To have such things discussed openly in the classroom might evoke the wrath of powerful forces and place the tenure of a teacher in jeopardy. Yet it should be noted that high school students are by no means completely insulated from the evils of politics. If they do not read about them in the newspapers, as they should, many are very likely to hear them discussed in the home, and often in an exaggerated and sensational manner.

This brings the discussion to one of the most fundamental purposes of the experiment. The fact has been remarked again and again that our conduct of the democratic political process leaves much to be desired. Opposing parties and candidates too often violate the most elementary canons of honesty and truthfulness in characterizing one another. They frequently engage in unprincipled vituperation and falsification in the heat of a campaign. It would appear that the school might make a genuine contribution toward raising both the intellectual and the ethical level of political discussion. This can be best achieved by actual participation in the political process under the guidance of qualified teachers who are more concerned with the purification and elevation of the process than with the triumph of doctrine or the victory of party.

In concluding the conference, the principal and the superintendent appeal to the citizens for support of an experiment designed to improve the quality of American citizenship. They also ask for informed and responsible criticism in the common undertaking.



## 9. *The Fundamentals*

An informal survey of the scholastic achievements of a group of high school seniors in a large city conducted by interested citizens reveals a surprising condition. It is averred that some of these eighteen-year-olds, after eleven or twelve years of formal schooling, misspell the simplest words, violate the common rules of English grammar, make mistake after mistake in number combinations, and exhibit vast ignorance in the fields of history, geography, and elementary science. A few of them, according to rumor, do not even know how to tell the time of day.

The results of the survey are published in the local papers, telegraphed by the press services to the four corners of the land, and reported by professional commentators over the great radio networks. Many citizens write letters to the newspapers asking what is wrong with the public schools. Others charge that the teachers, having imbibed too freely of the heady wine of the "progressives," have abdicated their professional responsibilities, allowed children to dictate the curriculum, and thus forsaken the original purpose of public education, the teaching of the fundamentals, the teaching of reading, writing,

arithmetic, and factual knowledge. The superintendent of schools is asked to give an account of his stewardship.

After consultation with the board of education and members of his staff, the superintendent issues a statement to the press promising to give the matter his immediate attention. At the same time he advises the citizens not to become unduly excited before they get the facts and see the facts in proper perspective. He also observes that high-school boys and girls have been known to take unauthorized tests lightly and even to give silly answers to what they regard as silly questions. He reminds the citizens that like criticisms of the public school have been made from time to time for more than a hundred years.

In order to get the facts the superintendent brings into conference members of the teaching staff, including specialists in the field of testing and measurement. After reviewing the total situation they appoint a committee of qualified teachers to examine the test, the conditions under which it was administered, and the nature of the report given to the public. The committee discharges this mandate and also endeavors through consultation with the students involved to discover their attitude toward the test. It then proceeds to give a scientific sampling of high school seniors one of the more widely used standardized tests of scholastic achievement.

After some weeks the committee presents its findings to the school board and the community. It reports that the original test which aroused the interest of the public was neither carefully constructed nor properly administered. It reports also that some of the students did not take the exercise seriously and even deliberately gave whimsical responses. Yet the record made on the standardized test scarcely justifies jubilation on the part of the educational authorities. Although some of the students demonstrated powers equal to the average of college seniors, others showed a mastery of basic skills and factual knowledge inferior to that of some eighth-grade pupils.

The committee continues its inquiry, however, and eventually reveals the situation to be in a sense really more disturbing to the prospects of our American democracy than those who first launched the attack on the schools had surmised. A comparison with the measured achievements of high-school students in other American cities shows that the

local boys and girls stand above the national average. And an inquiry into the achievements of school children in earlier generations, and even a hundred years ago in Boston, the acknowledged intellectual center of the nation at the time, indicates that today's pupils are somewhat more proficient in basic skills and knowledges than their predecessors, and decidedly superior in dealing thoughtfully with novel situations and relationships.

The committee also assembles data from the findings of certain professional pollsters regarding the *factual knowledge* of the adult population in the United States. While the data reveal nothing of the accomplishments of the schools in terms of more wholesome attitudes, improved human relations, better technical skills, or ability to locate information when needed, the results are disturbing to many people. According to a poll conducted by George Gallup, almost 50 per cent of the citizens do not know the number of United States senators from each state, more than 65 per cent cannot estimate the population of their own country within an error of twelve million, practically 70 per cent are unable to identify Anthony Eden even as a British political leader, and over 60 per cent are ignorant of the geographic location of the Suez Canal. Well over a fourth do not know how many three-cent stamps can be bought with seventy-five cents. Still more alarming is the fact that only 37 per cent of those who have gone to college can answer *all five* questions correctly. One can but wonder how many could give a clear definition of "the federal budget" or an approximate estimate of the national debt. It is not surprising, therefore, that a proposal by the committee that the parents of the high school seniors or the college graduates in the community take the standardized achievement test arouses no enthusiasm on the part of the groups challenged.

Before the interest of the public in the episode evaporates, the superintendent takes advantage of the situation to interpret at a public meeting the task of the public school in relation to the bold and unprecedented experiment in democratic constitutional government launched by the Founding Fathers of our Republic in 1787 and the years immediately following. This experiment rested on a sublime faith in the ability of the people to rule themselves through representatives of their own choosing. That such an experiment required the fullest possible enlightenment of all the citizens was clearly recognized. But we find ourselves confronted today with conditions of which Wash-

ington, Franklin, Jefferson, and Madison never dreamed and which certainly would have caused them many uneasy moments. The rise of industrial society, with its vast sweep, its incredible complexities, its restless dynamism, and its "confusion of tongues," has placed a burden on the minds of free men which even the most farsighted statesmen and prophets of the early agrarian age could scarcely have imagined.

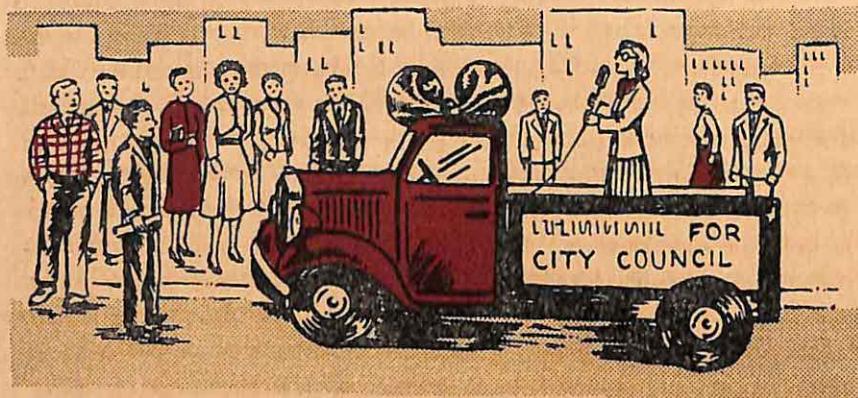
For the purpose of preparing the younger generation to discharge the heavy obligations of citizenship in a free society, the American people launched and developed our system of public schools. From generation to generation, as industrial society advanced, educational opportunities were extended to more and more children and from early childhood to the years of adolescence and youth. Today our high schools enroll an ever-growing majority of the young people of appropriate age, and consequently are blazing a new trail in the history of secondary education. This situation creates a task which no other people and no other body of teachers ever faced in any country or in any age. Instead of the upper tenth or upper twentieth of boys and girls, in terms of native equipment and family background, the common condition in other times and places, we have in our high schools today something approaching a cross section of the talents and cultural advantages of our entire population. Although the American people would be satisfied with nothing less, they commonly fail to realize fully the daring and the magnitude of the undertaking.

At present, in this new age of science and technology, we are engaged in the task of building an educational program to serve the needs of our free society and the needs of all of our children and youth. To say that we have found the answers to the many difficult and perplexing problems which the changing conditions of life and the expansion of our schools have brought would be the height of folly. In classes of thirty or forty it is impossible to give to the individual child the close attention which is essential to successful teaching and learning. Moreover, many teachers are inadequately prepared to make full use of the professional knowledge already available, deficient though it doubtless is. This situation is aggravated by the fact that the teacher is generally paid less for his services in the education of the young than his brother or sister may receive for mining coal, building houses, raising hogs, or working in divers capacities for our great business and industrial corporations. It is therefore increasingly difficult

to attract into the profession young men and women of the highest talents.

All of this is said, not for the purpose of condoning mistakes or weaknesses which can be corrected, but rather for the purpose of gaining the cooperation of all parents and citizens who are interested in improving the quality of instruction in the schools. Criticisms and suggestions from the public are always welcome. And it is recognized that the teaching of basic skills and knowledges, though only a part of the total educational task, is even more necessary today than it was in the age of the "district school." It is recognized too that periodical checks by means of standardized tests might keep the attention of both teachers and parents focused on the problem and thus serve to raise the general level of achievement.

It is against this background that the superintendent and the board of education invite the community to participate in a program of study, discussion, and action, in order to clarify and better define the broad purposes of its public school system. The common goal should be a program dedicated to the fullest possible development of every individual in the fundamentals, as well as in other areas of educational achievement.



## 10. Teachers in Politics

An elementary school teacher who for many years has participated actively in the religious and cultural life of the community decides to enter politics. She openly joins the political party of her choice, attends regularly the meetings of the local party club, makes political speeches in support of her party's candidates, and eventually runs for political office on her party's platform.

Members of the opposing party condemn the teacher in unqualified terms. They say that by entering politics she has broken a time-honored tradition, degraded her own person, and rendered herself unfit to be a teacher. As guide and counselor of the young, it is argued, she should stand above all partisanship and remain uncontaminated by the corrupting influences of the political struggle. The charge is advanced also that she has neglected her professional duties. Moreover, certain members of her own party and even some of her colleagues in the profession share these sentiments in some measure. The fact that this teacher is a woman lends force to the criticism. It is not surprising, therefore, that many citizens request that she be reprimanded or even ousted from her position by the board of education.

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At the meeting of the board several members are openly critical of

the behavior of the teacher. Although they hesitate to recommend drastic action, they are convinced that something should be done to show their displeasure and to discourage other teachers from following in her footsteps. They do not want to associate themselves with the establishment of what they regard as a dangerous precedent. Other members, while conceding that she may have overstepped the bounds of propriety in actually running for office, advise against hasty action and suggest that the matter be studied soberly from all angles. Only one member comes out squarely in support of the teacher, and he does so on the broad grounds that a teacher should enjoy all the rights of citizenship. The superintendent is uncertain regarding the stand he should take. The issue is the more difficult to resolve in the minds of some because the teacher is superior in every way and is held in great respect and esteem by the parents of her pupils. It is finally decided to ask her to attend a meeting of the board, the superintendent, and representatives of the local teachers' organization to explore the entire question of the role of the teacher in the community.

At the meeting the president of the board suggests at the outset that those present exchange opinions for the purpose of discovering the area of agreement, if any exists. That there is such an area of agreement is quickly revealed. All are convinced, not only that a teacher should be permitted to participate in certain community activities, but even that he should be encouraged to do so. Among the approved activities are: attending the church of his faith, teaching Sunday school, participating in the work of the Parent-Teacher Association, the Red Cross, and the Community Chest. Also there is no objection to his joining fraternal orders, service clubs, professional organizations, and civic and cultural associations of various kinds. In fact there is general agreement that a teacher should be allowed to join and work in any organization of a non-partisan character devoted to the promotion of the general welfare, cultural interests, or good fellowship, provided he satisfies all the demands of his job. But when the issue is raised of participation in any activity on which the community is divided, except in the realm of religious faith, the board splits right down the middle. At this point the teacher is asked to explain the action which she has taken in entering the arena of politics.

Assisted by a colleague in the field of American history she begins by stating that she arrived at her decision only after years of study,

observation, and thought. Gradually she became convinced that the teacher in America today is a victim of a tradition established long ago, in the early days of public education when the one-room district school flourished. The curriculum then was limited largely to the "fundamentals" of reading, writing, and arithmetic; and teaching was paid poorly, marked by insecurity of tenure, and hedged about by all sorts of petty restrictions and annoyances imposed by a school board of untutored farmers. Moreover, teaching scarcely ranked among the occupations as a life career. It was regarded as a task suited to the undeveloped powers of youth approaching manhood and womanhood, as a steppingstone to marriage or some adult calling or profession. As late as the middle of the nineteenth century many teachers in the most progressive states were under twenty-one years of age and the great majority departed the school after one, two, three, four, or five years of service. Consequently the denial of full rights of citizenship to the teacher was not a serious hardship. But the tradition of the non-political teacher has persisted.

The time has come for the breaking of this tradition. First of all, it should be noted that the district school has evolved into a twelve-year institution with a vastly enriched and diversified curriculum and that teaching has advanced from "school keeping" to become one of the major learned professions. The number of teachers in the country now is well beyond the million mark, the great majority of whom have chosen teaching as a life career and have made a large investment in the form of years of study and training. The denial for life of full rights of citizenship to this large segment of the population constitutes a grave injustice in itself and probably influences many vigorous and talented young men and women who are naturally drawn to teaching to choose some other calling.

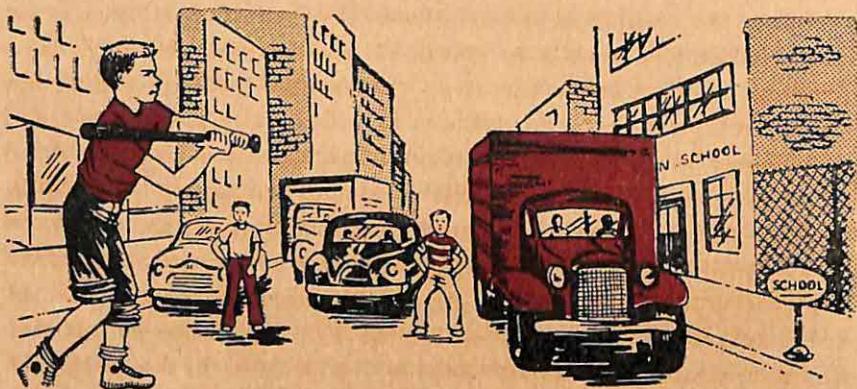
This denial also tends to exclude from the political process the point of view and the spiritual resources of a large and growing body of citizens. That teachers generally are still inadequately equipped in knowledge, understanding, and conscience to discharge with power and vision the heavy obligations associated with the induction of the young into our complex industrial society is readily granted. Yet the fact remains that in terms of intellectual and ethical standards they match any other occupational group of comparable size. Moreover, where teachers have entered politics and been elected to office they have given a fairly

good account of themselves. The argument sometimes advanced that teachers should be satisfied with their highly responsible role of shaping the young mind in the classroom takes us back to an earlier age when women were battling for full political rights. Men often remarked in chivalrous tones that women were already making a sufficient contribution to good citizenship, for, as everybody knows, "the hand that rocks the cradle rules the world."

But there is another consideration involved in the issue which may be more important than the question of equality of rights or the question of the teacher's contribution to the political process. The fact is now clearly established that the teacher is more than a specialist, that he is first of all a person, that the whole person teaches, that the most important thing about him, therefore, is his quality as a human being. This calls for the abandonment of the tradition that he should be something less than a fully developed individual, that he should lead a cloistered existence, that he should forever remain as immature as the bright boys and girls who wielded the "hickory stick" and taught "readin', 'ritin', and 'rithmetic" in the one-room district school. Moreover, in the realm of civic training, since example is always stronger than precept, the teacher should take an active part in public affairs and exercise responsibly all the rights of citizenship. What he learns from the books must be supplemented and given meaning by participation in life's activities. He might then carry conviction to his pupils when he criticizes the political apathy of the citizens.

The participation of a teacher in politics should of course be marked by a special quality, a quality which reflects the ideals and professional standards of the profession. Trained in the methods of scholarship and science and dedicated to the long-time interests of society, he should always strive to raise the intellectual and ethical level of the political process. He should endeavor to practice on the hustings, in the council chamber, and in legislative halls the virtues of honesty and integrity which he seeks to inculcate in the younger generation. This might be regarded as a major contribution of the profession to our democracy.

Though not wholly convinced, the board of education, on the recommendation of the superintendent, decides not to reprimand or punish the teacher in any manner, provided she puts her work in the classroom first. Murmurs of dissent, however, continue to be heard in the community for many a day.



## 11. *The Leisure Hours of the Young*

At a meeting of parents and teachers the subject of the out-of-school activities of junior and senior high school students is discussed. One parent after another reports that the employment of the leisure hours by their children constitutes a real problem. They testify that there is little provision for boys and girls and youth in the typical American city. After school, on the weekend, and during the summer vacation they are left largely to their own devices. Most families live in small apartments and one or both parents are employed in establishments often far removed from the place of residence. Few parents are able to retain expert supervision, send their children to summer camps, or take them to country homes during the holiday season.

In the discussion various proposals are advanced. One parent thinks the solution lies in the expansion of extra-curricular activities in the realms of sport, music, dancing, painting, sculpture, the various literary and dramatic arts, and a great diversity of avocational interests. Another suggests that the youngsters should be required to take over the janitorial services of the school. Yet another thinks that all city children should join the Boy or Girl Scouts and know the joys of camping and life in the country. At the close of the meeting those present

pass a resolution requesting the board of education to make a survey of the situation and undertake remedial measures.

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When the resolution comes before the board of education the superintendent is asked to comment. He states at once that there is no need for a survey of the situation. The essential facts are well known and have been a matter of common knowledge to social workers and sociologists for many years. The condition, moreover, is not confined to the local community, but rather is general throughout the country, though somewhat less acute in rural areas and small towns. It is to be traced largely to the rise and spread of industrial society and machine production. As a consequence of revolutionary changes in modes of livelihood, which have occurred for the most part since the time of Andrew Jackson, we are confronted with a problem in the rearing of the young which is unique in human history and for which no wholly satisfactory solution has been found. The school by itself, moreover, is in a relatively helpless position. Only with the complete cooperation of the community can anything substantial be accomplished. The superintendent brings to a subsequent meeting of the board a sociologist from the state university, who thus outlines briefly the character and dimensions of the problem.

"Perhaps the best approach to understanding is to go back a hundred and twenty-five or fifty years and take a look at the position of the child in pre-industrial society. At that time the basic economic and social unit was the relatively self-contained farm household situated in a small rural neighborhood. Here the individual received the major part of his vocational, civic, and moral training. Almost from the time he was able to walk about the house or yard, he was expected to assist in guarding family interests and promoting family welfare. And as he grew in strength and understanding, new responsibilities were placed on his shoulders. The boy performed innumerable chores having to do with the supply of fuel and water, the care of animals, the tilling of the fields, the harvesting of crops, and the practice of the mechanical arts. The girl helped to prepare the meals, wash the dishes, make the beds, do the laundry, preserve fruits, vegetables, and meats, look after the needs of younger children, the sick, and the aged, and perform the varied industrial activities carried on in the home in the age of homespun. Gradually, as the youngster matured, and as an integral

part of the process of maturing, he acquired all of the occupational skills and knowledges appropriate to the sex.

"Then the factories came, first in New England and later by gradual stages in all parts of the land. And with them came the new patterns of economy and life with which we are familiar. A large part of the labor power in the early textile mills was provided by little children. Boys and girls ranging in age from seven to twelve were drawn into the factories from the farms and villages. Here they worked incredibly long hours, 'never less than ten, seldom less than twelve, often fourteen or fifteen or even more' a day. To be sure, from primitive times children had always worked long hours, though usually under parental authority. But when their labor was exploited on a large scale for private gain outside the home, their condition attracted attention and aroused the public conscience. As a consequence, beginning in Massachusetts in 1836, increasingly stringent child labor laws have been passed, so that today children up to fourteen or sixteen years of age are for the most part out of the labor market. The public school, of course, has come in to help fill the leisure hours, but the problem created by the dissolution of the household economy based on the land remains unsolved to this day. Even agriculture is becoming so highly specialized and mechanized that the child is being pushed further and further toward the periphery of the processes of production. More and more children, therefore, are growing to manhood and womanhood without having had the benefits of genuine work experience. To many thoughtful students of our society this condition constitutes a serious weakness in the total program for the rearing of the young.

"Various proposals have been made to relieve this situation. Certain schools have stressed practical activities and projects in the classroom and on the school premises to fill the gap in learning experience resulting from the disintegration of the family as an economic unit. Pedagogically this emphasis would appear to be sound, but unfortunately such activities and projects lack the moral quality and the standards of evaluation of socially useful work. Doubtless many of the simpler tasks associated with the operation of the school building and grounds might be performed quite satisfactorily by children. Also, boys and girls of school age might have some active part in keeping the streets clean, in caring for trees and shrubs, in maintaining the public parks, in battling pests of various kinds, in collecting valuable waste ma-

terials, and in running errands of mercy and courtesy. At the older ages, through cooperation with governmental agencies, they might play a responsible role in projects for the conservation of our natural resources and the guarding of the public domain. Also, if the cooperation of business, labor, and agriculture could be secured, genuine work experience in various productive enterprises might be possible for a considerable number of youth. At any rate, the young might be given understanding and appreciation through direct observation of the marvellous and exciting institutions through which we gain our livelihood. But all of this requires imaginative thinking about the entire school curriculum in the industrial age.

"One more thought merits consideration. The problem of leisure touches the old as well as the young. In all preceding ages and societies, except for small privileged classes, men, women, and children have been compelled by necessity to work long and hard merely to subsist and reproduce their kind. Today we are well into a new world. The advance of technology has so increased the productivity of labor that the working hours of the average man or woman have been reduced far below what was thought possible or even 'proper' a few generations ago. A forty-hour week has replaced the seventy-five to eighty hours of our early agrarian society. The time and energy thus released for leisure activities and interests constitute something new under the sun. There has been nothing resembling this condition in any place or time. Obviously the school should do everything in its power to make sure that the hours away from work will be employed, not to cheapen and degrade taste and character, but to introduce a finer quality into the lives, human relationships, and material surroundings of all the people. Here is a challenge which the teaching profession, working with the community, should strive earnestly to meet."

The statement by the sociologist is followed by prolonged and lively discussion. To several members of the board the problem seems insoluble. It is eventually decided, however, to form a committee of interested teachers and parents and to employ the sociologist as a consultant for a period of several months. The committee will be expected to examine critically the entire program of the schools, explore the possibilities in the community for work experience, study experiments under way in other educational systems, and finally bring in a report with recommendations.



## 12. *The Problem of Juvenile Delinquency*

A local newspaper reports an alarming condition of delinquency among adolescents in the community. It states that boys and girls from favored homes have formed secret associations devoted to drinking and sexual experimentation, and that youngsters from underprivileged areas have organized gangs which assault pedestrians, engage in petty theft, and carry on bloody battles with rival groups.

The matter becomes a subject of gossip at every social gathering, as well as a common topic of conversation wherever two or three persons happen to meet. Conscientious citizens call upon members of the board of education, and place responsibility for this condition squarely on the public school. They argue that the school fails to teach moral and spiritual values and is in fact a godless institution. They also link this failure with an alleged lowering of ethical standards in both private and public life. As a remedy they propose the introduction of religious instruction into the curriculum from the first grade. The board turns to the superintendent of schools for advice.

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The superintendent states that he has already been in touch with the

counseling and guidance personnel of the high school and finds that they are by no means unaware of the condition reported in the press. In fact members of the staff say that the situation is not new and that they have been in conference with parents from time to time and have succeeded in getting many boys and girls to correct their ways. They also say that the accounts are somewhat exaggerated and that the facts scarcely justify the lurid headlines appearing in the newspapers. Nevertheless, they recognize that the situation is serious, and would be serious even if only one student were involved. The superintendent suggests that the criticism of the public school be examined before the remedy proposed is considered. He emphasizes also that persistent delinquency on the part of children and youth cannot be traced to any single set of factors. Our most reliable studies show, he cautions, that it is commonly the result of the "interplay of somatic, temperamental, intellectual, and sociocultural conditions." The substance of his analysis of the problem follows.

Juvenile delinquency can only be understood against the background of the vast changes in American life which have taken place during the past several generations. In the closely knit family and neighborhood of former days children and youth were generally under the watchful eyes of their elders. Also, from the earliest years of childhood they played a responsible role in the economic and social life of home and community. As they advanced from the simpler and lighter to the more complex and heavier tasks, they derived inner satisfactions from the knowledge that they were climbing the ladder to maturity. Though life was arduous and exacting they felt it had meaning. To be sure, they got into trouble from time to time and committed offenses that started tongues wagging in the neighborhood where everybody knew everybody else. The boys sometimes strayed from appointed tasks to "go swimming," to "steal watermelons," or to engage in any one of a hundred pranks, but they were commonly judged tolerantly and were often excused on the grounds that "boys will be boys." And the boy-girl relationship sometimes went beyond the dictates of the mores. Even though there were occasional outlaws and horse thieves, crime was relatively rare and doors were seldom locked.

Today, for the great majority of the population the bonds of family and neighborhood are much weakened. With the automobile, distance has been conquered and youth can transport themselves in a few

minutes into a land of strangers, where strangers are no longer objects of curiosity and where ethical standards may be profoundly different. As a consequence the home group with its relatively stable and homogeneous mores and folkways, in which all preceding mankind has lived, has lost much of its dominion over the individual, and ancient social controls are in process of disintegration. In the crowded living conditions of our great cities, moreover, the young, shorn of economic responsibilities, find much free time at their disposal. Underprivileged youth, desirous of adventure and tempted by the lavish display of wealth before their eyes on the street and in the shop window, form gangs to plunder the "rich," outwit the policeman, and overcome rival gangs in battle. "Satan finds work for idle hands to do" was a common aphorism in the old agrarian days. And it is as true now as it was then. The difference lies in the fact that the hands of youth are idle now as never before. Moreover, many boys and girls come from homes which have been wrecked beyond redemption.

For the failure of our American community to meet the challenges in our changed ways of life the public school is commonly blamed, as in the present instance. That this institution is a powerful force in the lives of the young, and might be even more powerful, is readily granted. But its power can be overrated. Many citizens appear to believe that the school is almost entirely responsible for the rearing of the young during the years of childhood and adolescence. Such a view is of course far from the truth. The fact is that the school has official supervision over children and youth from birth to eighteen years of age during only about one-eighth to one-seventh of their waking hours, if they are in attendance every day the school is in session. And it should be observed that the school does not receive the child until he has passed through his first six years, the most formative period of life. It should be noted, too, that basic traits of character may be formed and seeds of delinquency planted in early childhood.

During the hours away from school, children and youth come under the diverse and conflicting influences of family, church, and neighborhood, of street, gang, playground, camp, industry, and travel. And in these days of advanced technology we must add the powerful media of mass communication, the press, the movie, the radio, and television, whose controlling purposes generally are not education, but profit,

entertainment, and perhaps propaganda. The influence of these agencies may run directly counter to the ethical instruction given in the school. Consider the glaring headlines and the detailed accounts of crime, corruption, gangsterism, and sex immorality spread across the pages of some of our newspapers. Consider also a similar emphasis in the motion picture, radio, and television programs. Although virtue is always supposed to triumph in the stories of vice and crime, it must be realized that children and youth are highly suggestible and that they may be moved to emulate the villain rather than the hero of the story. Quite possibly boys and girls in other places, reading exaggerated newspaper accounts of sex and criminal delinquency in our city, may be encouraged to go and do likewise. The point to be stressed is that the task of rearing the young in the strange industrial age which has swept over us so swiftly is a task, not of the school alone, but of the entire community.

The charge that the public school is a godless institution is not new. In fact it is as old as the public school itself. Yet no one has ever advanced evidence in support of the charge that would stand scrutiny. Moreover, some of the most basic values which the school endeavors to convey to the young are derived from the Hebraic-Christian tradition, the conception of individual worth and dignity, the ideal of human brotherhood, the qualities of mercy and compassion in human relationships, and the basic virtues of simple honesty and truthfulness. And through counseling services, specially trained teachers endeavor to give to children and youth in trouble that individual attention which is indispensable to the prevention and correction of delinquency. That the program falls short of what is desirable is due primarily to lack of resources, certainly not to lack of intent or concern.

Involved in one of the proposals advanced in the present controversy is an issue of profound significance to our free society. Some of our citizens have expressed themselves in favor of the introduction of religious instruction from the first grade. If this is interpreted to mean the teaching of sectarian doctrine, it runs directly contrary to the American tradition on which the public school rests. Although, as experience has demonstrated, such a program might be undertaken in small communities where the people are overwhelmingly of one denomination, it obviously would not be possible in a large city marked by great diversity in religious faith and affiliation. The proposal,

moreover, not only contravenes our basic American principle of separation of church and state, but also threatens the very existence of the public school. Clearly, since no sect would submit to the doctrinal teachings of its rivals, the logical tendency of the suggestion would be the establishment of separate schools for the several church bodies in the community. Few of our citizens, if they could foresee the consequences, would want to move down this road, a road which would lead inevitably to the exacerbation of religious differences and prejudices. Moreover, studies lend little support to the view that the introduction of formal religious instruction in the school would by itself appreciably reduce the incidence of delinquency among boys and girls.

In conclusion the superintendent suggests a conference with community leaders and representatives of all local religious bodies to consider the broad question of the teaching of moral and spiritual values to the young. A major object of the conference would be to discover an area of agreement on policy which would strengthen rather than weaken the public school. An equally important purpose would be the marshalling of the total resources of the community to deal with the highly complicated problem of character education and personality development. The school cannot do the job entirely by itself.



### 13. *The Question of Segregation*

In response to advertisements for unskilled labor many southern Negro families migrate to a rapidly growing industrial city north of the Mason and Dixon line. These families are poverty-stricken and the older members are relatively uneducated. As the years pass, Negro children enter the public high schools in ever-increasing numbers.

Certain white parents in a relatively favored section of the city feel that the social tone of their school is being lowered. Moreover, though reared in the teachings of the Hebraic-Christian ethic, they do not want their children to associate with Negroes on a plane of equality. Consequently, they start a vigorous and sustained agitation for a separate school for Negro children, for the transportation of these children to another school, or for the shifting of the boundaries of school districts in conformity with population zones. The controversy rocks the community and is the more serious because an important bond issue is to be voted on at the coming election. The board of education is in a quandary regarding the policy to be adopted.

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The superintendent is deeply disturbed in conscience. He wonders why he was ever called upon to confront such an explosive question,

and then he is moved by regrets for not having prepared the community over the years to meet this situation. According to his most basic moral commitments, his whole philosophy of life and education, and his understanding of the realities of the contemporary world, he knows that he should oppose with all his strength the proposal to *introduce* the principle of segregation into the public schools. And yet he likes the community in which he has labored successfully for almost two decades, a community which has provided a happy home for him and his family. He likes, too, the position which he holds, one of the most coveted in the region. To quiet his conscience he tells himself that the vote on the bond issue is more important than the question of discrimination and that he should therefore postpone the battle for equal rights until after the election. But this does not satisfy him, for he feels deep down in his heart that it is the counsel of cowardice.

He cannot drive the torment from his mind. The issue haunts him throughout his waking hours and troubles his slumbers. Like a spectre it stands by his side when he rides to his office, sits in conference, attends the theatre, reads the newspaper, or dines with his family. In order to make up his mind he consults his closest friends, the members of his staff, leaders of civic organizations, clergymen of the several religious denominations, and representatives of business and labor. From these people, many of whom he has known for years, he gets conflicting advice. Some tell him to follow his conscience and champion the cause of the Negro children. Others suggest that he should be guided by the "larger interest," concentrate on winning the election, obtain the necessary funds for his magnificent building program, and thus erect an enduring monument to his administration. Still others advise him not to take the issue too seriously and to leave the decision to the board of education, where the responsibility properly rests.

The superintendent finally makes up his mind and goes before the board. He begins by reporting briefly his inner struggle—a struggle which, as those present can easily see, has left its mark upon him. He then proceeds to give his decision, the most difficult he has ever made in his entire professional career. He tells the board, soberly and without passion, that he must oppose any and all proposals designed to bring the principle of segregation into the public schools, and that he is prepared to resign his position if he should be overruled by either the board or the community. The values at stake, he says, are so

fundamental that he cannot in good conscience do otherwise. With the permission of the board he thus outlines in a carefully prepared statement the reasons for his decision.

"Our treatment of the Negro and all other minority groups provides the touchstone by which our integrity as a people must be measured. For generations we have freely and universally professed our commitment to the ideals of individual worth, human brotherhood, and equality before the law and in the moral order of the Hebraic-Christian ethic and the democratic faith. These values are enshrined in the most sacred documents of the Republic, in the Declaration of Independence, the Bill of Rights, and the Gettysburg Address. We proclaim them to ourselves and to the world on every occasion. In the degree that we show in our practices prejudice, hatred, contempt, or discrimination toward any element of our people, we are weakened both at home and abroad, our full human resources are not developed, and the political adventurer will be able to poison our political life. As long as we are governed by the doctrine of racial, national, or religious superiority, our democracy will be corrupted at the core. We shall know in our hearts that we are false to our professions. The principle of segregation is obviously contrary to our essential moral tradition.

"The present instance is the more disturbing because many of the citizens in our city are proposing, not to perpetuate, but to introduce the principle of segregation. Almost a century ago the people of this community supported with blood and treasure a violent and mortal struggle both to preserve the Union and to free the Negroes from slavery. It would be one of the tragedies of the present generation if this ancient tradition were reversed. Moreover, this proposal is being advanced at a time when powerful forces are moving in the South, where segregation has been practiced since Reconstruction days, to establish a single system of schools. At any rate, in the colleges and universities, under the pressure of court decisions and public opinion, the trend is clearly in this direction. In the interest of strengthening our democracy and our country we must not take this backward step.

"As we look beyond our shores we see at once that the issue of segregation is not only domestic in character. We are engaged with the other nations of the free world in a daring and difficult venture in building an international organization designed to establish an enduring peace on the earth. If this organization is not to be despotic in

character it must rest on the principle of equality of peoples. Obviously, if we violate this principle at home we can scarcely stand before the nations and fight in good conscience for the ideals of equal justice in the world. To the oppressed and underprivileged of the earth, to the colored and colonial peoples beyond our borders, and to many others of idealistic temper everywhere, our actions at home will belie our words in international councils.

"This entire question must be viewed from a new perspective because of revolutionary changes in the relations of peoples. A great cycle, embracing approximately five hundred years, is closing in our day. In the middle of the fifteenth century the peoples of Europe seemed on the verge of being enslaved or driven into the sea. The Tartars still controlled much of Russia; the Moors were still entrenched in Spain; and the Ottoman Turks were knocking boldly at the south-eastern gates of Europe. Then, owing to a number of factors, including certainly the invention of new weapons of warfare and the advance of nautical science, the tables were turned. The peoples of Europe took the offensive and moved out in all directions. By the end of the nineteenth century they held nine-tenths of the land surface of the globe, dominated the remainder, and ruled the "seven seas." As a result of their fabulous successes, they developed a sense of unqualified superiority and assumed that they were destined by their own nature to govern the world. Today the colonial empires formed in the epoch of European dominion are in process of disintegration and the colored peoples are rising everywhere. That these peoples will be satisfied with anything less than equality of status among the nations is altogether improbable. And it must be realized that three-fourths of the human race are colored.

"As we seek to lead the free world in the struggle against the ruthless thrust of Communist despotism, this question of our treatment of the Negro and other minority groups assumes a fateful urgency. With vast resources and fanatical energy, the tiny oligarchy in the Kremlin is conducting a campaign of hate throughout the earth, and particularly in the regions inhabited by colored peoples, designed to convince all mankind that American democracy is a fraud. With a world-wide propaganda network under their direction these men note our delinquencies and carry them in greatly exaggerated form to all countries. Among other things they say that 'in America the Negro is not

regarded as a man,' that 'there is no penalty for beating a Negro or raping a Negro woman,' that this is a 'right protected by law and forgiven by the church,' that 'lynchings and pogroms are very widespread in the United States,' that 'with persons subjected to lynching it would be possible to populate a huge city.' We may be sure that, if the proposal to introduce the principle of segregation into this community is adopted, the fact will be reported to the peoples of Asia and Africa and other lands. In these difficult and troubled times we must never forget that the hope of peace and freedom rests largely on our shoulders. We cannot afford to weaken our moral position at any point."

In his closing remarks the superintendent expresses the hope that the proposal will be rejected and that his resignation will not be necessary. He observes, however, that the decision must rest ultimately with the community and that the incident reveals a widespread condition among the citizens which augurs ill for the future. He declares therefore that, if the board should see fit to ask him to remain in his post, he would want to cooperate with local leaders and agencies in launching a program of adult education designed to illuminate the entire question of race relations in terms of our moral commitments and the inescapable realities of the contemporary world.



## 14. *The Teachers' Union*

A few teachers in an industrial community become increasingly critical of the existing teachers' association. They say that it is undemocratic in spirit and operation, is dominated by administrators and supervisors, and is insensitive to the interests of the classroom teacher. After some weeks of discussion and agitation they succeed in persuading approximately 15 per cent of their colleagues to join them in launching an organization of the union-type affiliated with a national labor organization. Some feel that such affiliation will increase their bargaining power with the board of education, while others are attracted to the movement from idealistic motives.

The officers of the new organization call on the superintendent of schools and ask that it be given the same privileges as the older teachers' association. At the first meeting of the board of education he recommends as a matter of routine that the request be granted. After some debate, a majority of the members vote to lay the recommendation on the table for further consideration and possibly for decision at the next meeting.

During the interval before the board convenes again the superin-

tendent seeks to clarify his own views on the matter through consultation with members of his administrative staff and the officers of the two associations. He also reads a standard work on the history of teachers' organizations in America and examines with care the pronouncements of the new group. Although he is genuinely irritated by some of the statements appearing in these pronouncements, particularly certain rather uncomplimentary references to administrators, and although he fears the new organization may give him trouble on occasion, he decides to support the position which he has already taken. At the meeting of the board he takes his stand squarely on the right of any group of American citizens to organize in defense of their interests or for the advancement of any legitimate cause. He points out that the formation of voluntary associations has long been recognized as a distinctive and essential feature of the American way of life, even though some groups, notably industrial workers, have had to struggle long and hard to establish the right for themselves. In conclusion he advises the members that the battle is over and that they should not dissipate their energies fighting windmills.

The board listens attentively to the superintendent's argument, but at the end is not wholly convinced. Indeed, one member, who has served the cause of public education faithfully for many years and is the head of one of the largest industrial corporations in the community, takes sharp issue with the superintendent. That teachers should have the right to organize he readily concedes, particularly if the object of organization is to improve the work of the schools and raise the level of professional qualifications. But he maintains emphatically that the organization under discussion is something else. It is dedicated to the advancement of the selfish interests of teachers, is founded on the premise of conflict of interest between the teacher and the administrator, and will inevitably introduce the class struggle into our American schools. He finds especially obnoxious the proposed affiliation with organized labor. He concludes his remarks with the insinuation that the teachers involved must be either deluded or subversive. He is astonished that the superintendent failed to squelch this movement in its earliest stages.

At this point in the discussion a new member of the board rises to speak. He is a leader of organized labor and an officer in the Central Trades and Labor Council of the city. With some passion he responds

to the allegations of subversiveness made by the preceding speaker and contends that industrial workers are as thoroughly devoted to the American way of life as any element in the population. In fact, he says, the central purpose of the trade union movement, which began in the early years of the Republic, is to insure the wide distribution of power and the extension of the benefits of our democracy to all the people. The object is not to promote the struggle of classes but rather to achieve an approach to equality of bargaining rights between employer and employee. And then to the surprise of all present he quotes the following passage from Thucydides: "We both alike know that into the discussion of human affairs the question of justice only enters where the pressure of necessity is equal, and the powerful exact what they can, and the weak grant what they must." Regarding the loyalty of the teachers in question, he states that he has come to know them well in his official capacity and is confident that they are as patriotic as the members of his own union. In conclusion he observes that the superintendent of schools is an honored member of the local Chamber of Commerce.

The discussion continues for some time, with the other board members taking a somewhat intermediate position and tending to support the recommendation of the superintendent. However, before taking action they feel that they should hear directly from representatives of both organizations, the NTA (New Teachers' Organization) and the OTA (Old Teachers' Organization). The superintendent is instructed to invite them to attend the next session of the board.

At the meeting the chairman first calls on the head of the NTA, a teacher of general science in the junior high school, to present frankly the purposes and underlying philosophy of his organization. He begins by stating that the work of the teacher is generally recognized as vitally important to the success of our democracy. Yet the teacher lives and labors under severe disabilities. He has little real voice in shaping broad educational policies and influencing the conditions under which he works; he receives financial compensation quite incommensurate with the degree of training required; he feels insecure in his job and is often the victim of uninformed and malicious attacks. In order to remove these and many other disabilities, the teacher should have an organization devoted to the protection of his interests, just as other groups in our society have. Such an organization should be composed

of equals, of classroom teachers, so that the individual may speak freely and without fear of reprisal. The principle implicit here was well expressed by Alexander Hamilton in his argument in *The Federalist* favoring a fixed provision for the support of federal judges. "In the general course of human nature," he said, "a power over a man's subsistence amounts to a power over his will." The position taken here is not an expression of antipathy toward the administrator personally or of disparagement of the function of administration. We of the NTA like our superintendent of schools and his staff, and we value highly the work they do. But we think we should be allowed to speak for ourselves on any matter that may concern us.

As the speaker pauses, a representative of the OTA, a senior high school teacher of French, asks for the floor. He says at once that he agrees with practically all his colleague has just said, but is opposed on principle to the idea of affiliation with organized labor. He contends that teachers should stand above all partisan interests and steadfastly refuse to identify themselves with any one element in the community. In the measure that they fail to do this they will be suspect in many a classroom and in many a home. Teaching, moreover, is a profession and not a skilled trade. To affiliate with an organization of industrial workers would lower the dignity of the calling and the social status of the individual. The teacher should always feel deep sympathy for the underprivileged elements in society and should strive in every possible way to assist them to improve their condition. But he can achieve this purpose most effectively if he holds the social gains of his long struggle for recognition and moves on to new triumphs under his own power. Classroom teachers do need a much stronger organization than they have today, but they should rely on themselves and their own resources. As an example to emulate they should take, not a labor union, but the American Medical Association.

In reply a spokesman of the NTA, a fifth grade teacher, argues that the schools are today and always have been partisan in character. They have been under the influence of the intellectual classes and the more favored elements of society. For teachers to associate more closely with the working people who constitute the great majority of the population would only redress the balance and perhaps nurture in both the children and themselves democratic sentiments and loyalties. Moreover, since the days of the early Workingmen's Associations, more than a

century ago, organized labor has established an unsurpassed record in the support of the public school and the rights of the teacher.

At this juncture, a kindergarten teacher enters the discussion in defense of the OTA. She states that her major objection to the new organization is that it will divide and thus weaken the influence of the teachers in both the school and the community. In view of the power of tradition, she contends, there is not the slightest chance that it can attract in the foreseeable future more than half the teachers. She even intimates that some outside interest hostile to the profession is responsible for the launching of the NTA.

And so the argument proceeds for a couple of hours.

At the close of the meeting the board votes to follow the recommendation of the superintendent. Although a majority of the members clearly favor the OTA, they decide that the issue should be decided in the American way; that is, by allowing the two types of organization to compete and demonstrate their respective merits. Thus, in a sense, the issue is left to the teachers themselves.



## 15. *The Essay Contest*

At the beginning of the academic year a high school principal on his first job receives a letter from the national headquarters of an association of advertisers asking the cooperation of the English Department of his school in a nation-wide essay contest among high school students on "the values of advertising." The letter states that the association will outline the conditions of the contest, name the judges, and offer substantial prizes for the best essays. The communication is reinforced within a few days by a visit from a representative of the local advertising club who is a substantial citizen of the community.

While the principal is considering this request he receives a communication from a labor union asking for cooperation in an essay contest on "the role of organized labor in building America." But he soon discovers that this is not the end. An organization of business men wants a contest on "the superiority of the free enterprise system," a patriotic society on "the meaning of the flag," and an association of dairymen on "the vitamin content of butterfat." At this point the young principal seeks a conference with the superintendent of schools.

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At the conference, the problem of the essay contest is discussed at

some length. The superintendent says that it had troubled the former principal, particularly in the later years of his administration, because the number of requests had been increasing from year to year. However, the educational authorities had never given serious attention to the matter and had left the power of decision in the hands of the principal. He apparently had followed a policy of drift or *laissez faire*. With the assistance of members of his staff he always endeavored to judge each case on its merits as an educational project or on its value as a public relations measure. If some influential personality or organization in the community backed the request with vigor and persistence, the school invariably cooperated, even though the contest contributed nothing, or less than nothing, to the total program of instruction. Toward the end of the conference the young principal proposes that they study the nature and dimensions of the problem for the purpose of formulating policy. This they proceed to do by canvassing the literature on the subject, by getting in touch with the office of the National Association of Secondary School Principals, by writing to a selected list of high school principals at a distance, and by calling a conference of high school principals from neighboring communities.

The study proves most illuminating. It is found that the essay contest is practically universal and that it is causing high school principals and teachers deep concern throughout the country. The minimum number of nationally sponsored contests already in the field is about one hundred, and more are being added each year. One principal writes that "we are swamped with essay contests"; another that "the total number of requests exceeds the number of days in the school year"; and still another that "if we were to accept and promote all the contests proposed, there probably wouldn't be enough time left for a first-class pep session." Since pressure tactics to obtain approval, emanating from important elements in the community, are commonly employed, the principal often finds himself in an embarrassing situation. Although he can see no educational value in a particular contest, he may hesitate to say so because he does not want to alienate its sponsors. And Dale Carnegie's ideas on "how to win friends and influence people" seem to help him not at all. While the burden of conducting the contests falls on the entire high school staff to some extent, the teachers of English suffer most.

The rise of the essay contest is related, on the one hand, to the revo-

lutionary expansion of secondary education during the past generation and, on the other, to the development and proliferation of organized groups and interests which see in the high school an instrument made to order for the promotion of their purposes. The subject matter of the contests varies greatly, ranging in theme all the way from the most obvious kind of special pleading to real concern for the general welfare. In terms of the acquisition of useful skills and knowledge and the cultivation of desirable social attitudes and understandings, some of the contests undoubtedly possess genuine instructional value. Of others it must be said that they place the propaganda of some special interest beyond the reach of criticism and thus tend to corrupt the educative process. Since the public school is dedicated to the service of the entire community, it would appear axiomatic that the contests should be most carefully screened and judged in terms of their merits. Public education should not be converted into a tool or a weapon in the perpetual battle of conflicting interests.

The school is thus confronted with a difficult dilemma. If it chooses between worthy and unworthy essay contests, it must make explicit its standards of appraisal. But since every group maintains that its proposal springs from purest motives and that in any event whatever is good for it is good for the country, few would be ready to accept the verdict of the educational authorities without a struggle. Some persons have suggested that the way out of the dilemma is simply to surrender to necessity and accept all contests, regardless of their source or nature. Unfortunately for this proposal, large elements of the population, perhaps a majority, are not effectively organized, and among the organized some are immeasurably more powerful than others in both human and material resources. As a consequence the contest would be very unequal and victory would go to the strong. Such a resolution of the dilemma, moreover, would in time destroy the integrity of the school and lead to its demoralization.

This brings the analysis to the most disturbing feature of the essay contest, along with other enterprises of the same general character. It constitutes an attempt on the part of a variety of special interests, through the use of the resources of the public school, to influence and shape the course of instruction. All citizens should understand that the education of the young is a professional undertaking of great difficulty and complexity. The curriculum of our twelve-year common school,

though far from perfect, is a product of generations of study and experimentation conducted by persons who have devoted their lives to the work of education. In spite of any opinion to the contrary, it does possess a certain balance of emphases, integration of parts, and order of sequences. To permit pressures from the outside to inject into the curriculum their own special concerns, however worthy in themselves, involves the disruption of the process of education and leads to chaos and dispersiveness, the very condition which some of our critics lament. If these pressures become too numerous, they actually take over a large part of the professional responsibility which the community should entrust to the teaching profession.

This is not to say that the essay contest is without educational value. The contrary is obviously the case. Under appropriate professional controls, as the history of education demonstrates, it may serve a useful purpose. But the point should be emphasized that such controls are essential. This means that the contest should ordinarily come from within the school and be closely integrated with the total program of instruction. The number and kinds of contests should be determined by the responsible educational authorities in the light of the needs of boys and girls, and by nobody else and for no other reason. After decision has been made in terms of the total program, it might be fitting under some circumstances to seek sponsors in the community.

The superintendent and the principal present the results of their inquiry and thought to the board of education. In the discussion that follows, the members generally support the policy outlined. Yet they fear that its adoption might offend a number of influential citizens and organized interests. Before coming to a decision, therefore, they think it would be the better part of valor to have a frank exchange of opinion with representatives of the various groups concerned.



## 16. *Education for the Emerging Age*

Sitting in his study one spring afternoon a superintendent of schools reads a magazine article by two physicists on the factory of tomorrow. He finds the writers telling him in all soberness that with the development of electronics and the invention of giant computing machines "modern man is nowhere more obsolete than on the factory production floor." In another article he finds the dean of the graduate school of a great university stating that a "second industrial revolution" is well on its way—a revolution that "will replace by inanimate devices man's senses, nervous system, and brain." During the following weeks he reads extensively in the fields of electronics and engineering and discovers that, according to the most reliable authorities, the automatic factory is already on the march and may sweep over many branches of industry in the coming decades.

At the outset the superintendent pursues his reading because he finds the subject fascinating in itself. But he quickly becomes disturbed at the prospect of an industrial revolution which in the next generation or two may eliminate millions of jobs, transform the occupational patterns of our society, extend the hours of leisure, and shake the foundations of the entire social structure. Then he begins to wonder whether the

schools should not do something to prepare the younger generation to meet boldly and intelligently the challenges inherent in these coming changes. By the end of the school year he is deeply engrossed in the subject.

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During his brief summer vacation he continues to read and ponder. He soon perceives that the development of electronics is but one of the more spectacular elements, like atomic energy, in a vast complex of factors and forces which are carrying, not only the American people, but all mankind to an unknown and perhaps awesome destination. In contemplating the coming years he is impressed by these words from the pen of a distinguished student of the history of science and technology: "The heralding of the Atomic Age has rudely awakened us to the fact that, to paraphrase the words in which Newton summarized his life's achievements, we have picked up but a few pebbles on the shores of a great ocean that still remains to be explored." Perhaps the most revolutionary discoveries and inventions still lie ahead.

As he pursues his studies further he comes to see clearly something which he had only dimly sensed before. He sees that we are living through a great epoch of history which in all probability is still in its early stages. He sees too that this epoch is and will be "a time of troubles" for us in America and for all mankind. It is evident that for more than a generation now we have felt ourselves living in a world increasingly strange and even terrifying. We have experienced an endless succession of crises at home and abroad. We have seen our seemingly well-founded hopes vanish under the impact of unexpected events. The apparently solid verities and certainties of the nineteenth century are badly shaken. Social institutions, human relationships, value systems, and conceptions of life and destiny are in flux. Thoughtful men and women everywhere are anxious and fearful about the future. After a retreat of centuries, despotism is on the march again under the banners of totalitarianism in its several forms. The superintendent wonders whether we are preparing our children in understanding, conscience, and resolution to discharge the heavy responsibilities which will be required of their generation.

He reads Arnold J. Toynbee's monumental study of the rise and fortunes of twenty-one great civilizations which man has built on the earth, only five of which are living today. He is intrigued by the his-

torian's thesis that when a civilization is challenged, either from within or from without, it must meet the challenge or perish. And he sees our own civilization challenged with great power and without surcease by the advance of science and technology at home, and by Communist aggression and the threat of war abroad. He reads Stanley Casson's study of progress and catastrophe in the history of mankind from earliest times down to 1937. After closing the book his mind returns again and again to this striking sentence: "When his practical inventiveness ran ahead of his moral consciousness and social organization, then man has equally faced destruction." Obviously, he concludes, these words apply to the condition of man everywhere today. Our practical inventiveness has certainly run far ahead of our moral consciousness and our social organization, and on a scale hitherto unknown. He anxiously asks himself whether the values of free men can survive amid the strains and tensions, the confusions, uncertainties, and complexities of the second half of the twentieth century.

Having been reared in our American faith in the power and beneficence of education, the superintendent naturally turns his thoughts to the school. He recalls a statement made by H. G. Wells near the end of his *An Outline of History*, first published in 1920, a statement which he had often quoted with approval: "Human history becomes more and more a race between education and catastrophe." Then he recalls two disturbing facts: first, that in the race catastrophe triumphed with terrifying swiftness in the form of the Second World War; and second, that the period between 1920 and 1940 witnessed a wholly unprecedented expansion of organized education, of schools, colleges, and other agencies for informing and molding the mind. This expansion was particularly marked in the totalitarian states of Russia, Germany, Italy, and Japan. It was also marked in the United States, where the number of students attending secondary schools increased from 2,500,000 to 6,925,000 and the enrollment in higher schools advanced from 750,000 to 1,800,000. We know now that in the totalitarian states education served, not to avert, but to bring catastrophe. While the same cannot be said of our schools and colleges, it seems probable that they did altogether too little to equip the young to live in the world as it was or as it was becoming. Certainly the generation called to battle in 1941 on the far side of the globe had scarcely been prepared to pass through the terrible ordeal of the war years. Organized education is a force of

great power, but whether it is good or evil depends on how it is conceived and administered. It may serve any purpose.

At the close of his summer vacation the superintendent returns to his office deeply troubled in spirit. The original source of his perturbation, the subject of electronics, has almost dropped from his mind. Viewed in the perspectives of the swiftly emerging age, the total program of instruction in his schools, generally regarded as one of the best in the country, seems seriously inadequate and unrealistic, a program designed for a world that in considerable part has passed away. But the task, as he sees it now, seems literally overwhelming. How to grapple with it in practical terms is beyond his comprehension.

He shares his state of mind with friends and associates. At the opening of the school year he speaks to the teachers in assembly on the subject of "Education for the Emerging Age." This address, in which he summarizes his thoughts of the vacation period, arouses much interest and stimulates sober discussion on the part of many members of the staff. Although no one advances any practical measures for the modification of the school program, it is clear that an effort must be made to meet the challenge. After various proposals for attacking the problem have been offered, the superintendent suggests the formation of a study group for the purpose of stretching the mind and achieving a deeper understanding of the position and tendencies of our American civilization in the middle of the twentieth century. At this point a teacher of American history quotes the following words from a speech by Abraham Lincoln in 1858: "If we could first know where we are, and whither we are tending, we could better judge what to do, and how to do it." All present agree that the thought of the Great Emancipator during another time of trouble might well serve to guide us today.

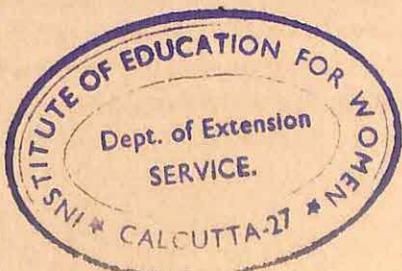
A group of twenty-five members is formed. This number is large enough to represent the major interests and diverse talents of the staff and yet small enough to encourage full participation in discussion. Every member agrees to make preparation for and attendance at each meeting a major commitment for the academic year. The board of education approves the project and sets aside a sum sufficient to provide modest honoraria and take care of all necessary expenses.

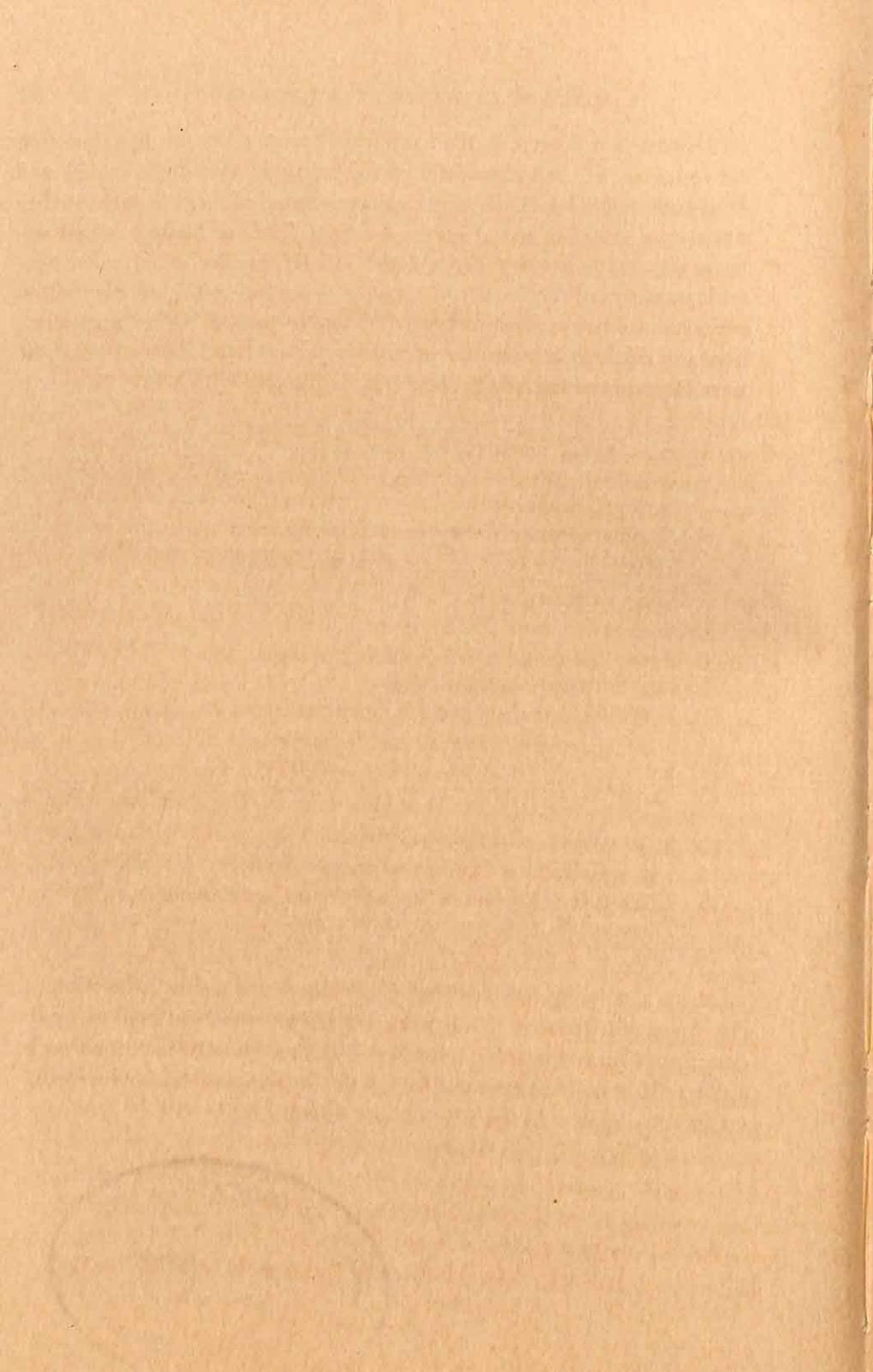
At the first meeting the program for the year is discussed. It is finally decided that the group will meet for dinner and evening session on alternate Fridays, that there will be eighteen meetings, that some im-

portant book will serve as the basis for discussion at each meeting, that all members will read carefully each book, and that one member will be chosen to lead each discussion. A committee of three is appointed to draw up a tentative list of books from the fields of history, social science, education, science, technology, and philosophy. After consulting with members of the faculty of a neighboring university the committee proposes the books listed below. It is recognized of course that other books of equivalent value for provoking thought and discussion might have been suggested.

1. Frederick Lewis Allen—*The Big Change*
2. Hans Kohn—*The Twentieth Century*
3. Arnold J. Toynbee—*A Study of History* (One volume edition by D. C. Somervell)
4. Stanley Casson—*Progress and Catastrophe*
5. Frederick Watkins—*The Political Tradition of the West*
6. Charles A. Beard—*The Republic*
7. Richard D. Heffner—*A Documentary History of the United States*
8. Henry Steele Commager—*The American Mind*
9. R. J. Forbes—*Man the Maker*
10. Bruce Bliven—*Preview for Tomorrow*
11. William L. Laurence—*The Hell Bomb*
12. Kenneth Galbraith—*American Capitalism*
13. Harold G. Moulton—*Controlling Factors in Economic Development*
14. R. M. MacIver—*The More Perfect Union*
15. Victor Gollancz—*Our Threatened Values*
16. William Henry Chamberlin—*Beyond Containment*
17. Theodore H. White—*Fire in the Ashes*
18. John L. Childs—*Education and Morals*

At each meeting the meaning of the book for public education is developed. At the close of the series the group decides to hold an additional meeting to formulate plans for bringing the results of the year's study to bear on the reconstruction of the curriculum and for involving community leaders in the entire undertaking.





*Part Three*

DECISION-MAKING IN PERSPECTIVE

## 17. *Some Guiding Principles*

The treatment in the foregoing chapters of the vast domain of decision-making in educational administration is admittedly and intentionally both brief and selective. Its object is to show the relation of the process to fundamental values in our heritage and basic realities of the contemporary world. The cases included should therefore be regarded merely as samples, though each clearly involves both values and realities. It is recognized too that the situations chosen are not of equal significance though each is thought to be important and to serve a distinctive and useful purpose.

The methods employed to place the issues of value in their social and cultural context should also be viewed as illustrative rather than prescriptive. They should not be taken as blueprints to be followed in situations which may be superficially similar. Since, as we shall stress later, communities differ greatly and undergo continual change, method should always be adjusted to the unique combination of factors and forces in a given place at a given time. The reader may get the impression, particularly from certain of the chapters, that difficulties can and should be resolved easily, quickly, and finally. Such an impression is not intended, because we all know that great decisions are rarely achieved easily or quickly. We know too that in a free society a particular issue may arise again and again, though generally in changed form and under changed circumstance. If eternal vigilance is the price of liberty, it is also the price of progress. Indeed, in the case of the educational administrator, one is reminded of the Red Queen's advice to Alice: "Now, *here*, you see, it takes all the running *you* can do to keep in the same place. If you want to get somewhere else, you must run at least twice as fast as that." In the present chapter an effort will be made to view the process of decision-making in perspective.

Let us begin by taking another look at our American values. That we as a people do possess a basic moral and spiritual tradition which is widely accepted or professed cannot be denied. Despite the diversity of our origins, the vastness of our land, and the brevity of our history

we have achieved a remarkable unity in our fundamental value commitments. The fact has been noted by a distinguished Swedish social scientist. "America, as compared to every other country in Western civilization," writes Gunnar Myrdal, in his *An American Dilemma*, "has the *most explicitly expressed* system of general ideals in reference to human interrelations." And he adds that "this body of ideals is more widely understood and appreciated than similar ideals are anywhere else." Essential elements of this "American Creed," as he calls it, were enumerated in the second chapter of the present volume.

The authenticity of this heritage of values, however, should not obscure the fact that our American practices often violate our professions, and sometimes grievously. Moreover, our values, or at least their emphases, interpretations, and applications, vary from region to region, from locality to locality, from group to group, and from person to person. In the same sense they are in perpetual flux everywhere, even in the life and experience of a single individual. It must be conceded in all candor also that our total heritage of values embraces contrary and conflicting elements. The moral vestiges of feudalism and even of slavery persist in our attitudes and relations. It would even be possible to select from our life and history the morality of the totalitarian state with all of its mad pretensions—with its worship of brute power, its contempt for the common man, its doctrines of race or class superiority, its disregard for human life, its regimentation of the mind, its practice of deceit and falsehood, and its cult of authoritarian leadership. But these are not the values which we profess or for which we would like to stand in the eyes of mankind and in the judgment of time. Certainly, few of us in our more sober moments would want to see them prevail in our land or in the world.

The total process of decision-making in American education is, as we have noted, extremely complicated and fraught with hazard. And the making of sound decisions, in terms of values and social realities, is most difficult. While there can therefore be no simple prescription of procedure, the following guiding principles addressed for convenience to the "superintendent of schools" may prove useful. They might also be addressed with equal cogency perhaps to the "educator," to the "board of education," or to "anyone engaged in the making of decisions in the field of public education."

First, the superintendent should know his school system and his pro-

fessional staff. On taking office he should acquire as speedily as possible some knowledge of the history and present condition of public education in his community—its peculiar patterns and traditions, its achievements and failures, its points of strength and weakness. He should strive to achieve a reasonable grasp of its total program and the philosophical principles on which it rests. He should become acquainted with the policies of his predecessor and the conceptions of administration and educational leadership prevailing in the system. He should seek to discover from the record the areas of high sensitivity in terms of both the community and the professional staff. He should establish close relations with his supervisors, principals, and teachers, study their personal and professional qualifications, and thus come to some judgment regarding the resources of human talent in the system. Without a modicum of knowledge in this area it would obviously be unwise to move beyond matters of routine in the making of decisions.

Second, the superintendent should know his community. He should know something of its history, particularly with reference to its attitude toward and its conception of public education. He should strive to know it as a whole in its traditions and values, its prejudices and idiosyncrasies. He should also strive to know it in its parts and divisions, in its historical and current conflicts and rivalries and controversies. He should be a close student of its structure of prestige, influence, and power. He should know its leaders, both those who enjoy the confidence and respect of the community as a whole and those who speak for its various sections and elements. He should know its organized interests, its churches, its business and financial groups, its labor unions and professional bodies, its veteran and patriotic societies, its civic and fraternal associations, its organizations of parents and teachers, its political parties and institutions of government. He should be familiar with its opinion-forming agencies and the whole process by which the public mind is shaped. He should know the proven friends of the public school, and also its critics and sworn enemies, if such exist. At the beginning of his administration he might well engage a trained sociologist to make a scientific study of the community. But he should realize that conditions change and that he must therefore endeavor at all times to keep his knowledge abreast of the realities.

Third, the superintendent should establish a process of continuous communication with both the teachers and the community. And this

should be a genuine two-way process. On the one side, the superintendent should take teachers and citizens into his confidence in the shaping of policy, as well as in the announcement and interpretation of all policies formulated. On the other side, every teacher and citizen should feel free to communicate to the superintendent any thoughts which may inspire him or any grievances which may disturb him. Also, it is well to emphasize, the superintendent should endeavor to communicate with all the elements composing the community, labor as well as business, the poor as well as the rich, the Jew as well as the Christian, the Negro as well as the white, the weak as well as the strong. The task of reaching the ordinary citizen is difficult because too frequently the public school to him is a peripheral interest. He tends to assume without knowledge that everything is going well. Consequently, when some unprincipled attack is launched against the institution, he may be persuaded without much difficulty to believe the worst about it. Only a well-conceived and well-organized program of communication with the citizens can prevent an occasional popular explosion. This program should of course include informed and skillful use of the media of mass communication.

Fourth, the superintendent should strive to utilize all the resources of the teaching staff and the community in the development of policy. Whenever and wherever possible he should extend the opportunity to specially qualified professional personnel to make their contributions. In like manner he should make use of the diverse and rich talents which may be found among the citizens in almost any American community. One of the major sources of strength of a free society is the tradition of concern for the general welfare on the part of private persons. Someone has said that the well-being of such a society depends largely on the number and quality of its public men and women, that is, men and women outside of government who are prepared without thought of tangible reward to give their time and energy to the advancement of the common good. Every American community is blessed with a larger or smaller number of such people. And here the point should be emphasized that the critics, even the hostile critics, of the public school as it is constitute a valuable resource. If the time should ever come when the voice of the critic is silenced, education might enter a period of decadence. The wise man learns quite as much from his enemies as from his friends. Also, as we have noted before, the superintendent

should as a matter of policy utilize the service of experts from outside the community whenever desirable.

Fifth, the superintendent should advise the board of education to hold regular meetings devoted to the formulation of long-range policy. The need for such meetings should require no elaboration. In the conduct of any enterprise it is the part of wisdom occasionally to lift the sights above the immediately practical and view its operations in the perspectives of time. The object would be not only to build soundly for the future but also to avoid the tyranny imposed by crises. The board, the administrator, and the entire professional staff should be constantly on the alert for coming events, for possible troubles and difficulties. They should be sensitized to look for the "cloud no bigger than a man's hand" just above the horizon which may presage the coming storm. It is proverbial that prevention is far less costly than cure. Informed and intelligent foresight should reduce the number of crises and hold controversy itself within the range of moderation. Several of the decision-making situations treated in preceding chapters, situations which exploded in the face of the administration, might have been handled easily and without public commotion if appropriate action had been taken in time.

Sixth, the superintendent should avoid conveying the impression that in his opinion he knows all the answers or that he is always right. In an authoritarian social order, where habits of obedience and submission to the will of officials are deeply rooted in tradition and social structure, such a posture would be entirely appropriate and effective. But in a free society, where the right of criticism and independent thought, even with reference to the President of the Republic and his policies, is cherished by all the citizens, an altogether different mentality is required. Because of his special knowledge, experience, and responsibility, the proposals of the superintendent should merit and receive the respect of members of his staff and the community. Such respect, however, can scarcely be demanded as a right in a democratic society. It must be won by worthy performance and achievement in the arena of discussion with the board, the teachers, and the citizens, in the free market of public debate, where in terms of authorship all ideas are equal. In the realm of policy-making, moreover, the superintendent should realize that in the last analysis all policies are tentative and contingent, the results at a given moment in history of a process

which continues amid changing forces and conditions through years, decades, and generations.

Seventh, the superintendent should strive to cultivate the mature mind in dealing with hostile critics and opponents. He should be extremely cautious in imputing evil and selfish motives. Opposition to sound policies and practices can by no means be understood in terms of malevolence and personal ambition, even though such factors may be involved. Simple ignorance and misunderstanding are often the source of conflict. It is a commonplace to say that men may agree on basic values and purposes and yet disagree vigorously on the means of achieving them. Every organization or group, if not frankly predatory or criminal, has some conception of the general welfare which embraces its own special interest. This fact should be thoroughly understood by the superintendent. He should know too that very few organizations indeed, whether religious, economic, political, civic, or ideological, are as solid or disciplined as they may appear to the outsider. Studies reveal that most of them are marked by internal differences and conflicts. In dealing with them, therefore, one should steadfastly refrain from any action which might be calculated to drive the members to rally around and support the official leadership in some extreme position. Battles over the public school there will be and must be, but the counsel of statesmanship should obviously be to gain as many friends and allies as possible.

Eighth, the superintendent should cultivate the virtues and qualities essential to the rule of law and reason. Many years ago Arthur Balfour, the British statesman and political philosopher, outlined clearly and simply the ideal to be striven for. In considering the prospects of survival confronting the English Constitution in times of trouble he observed that "it matters little what other gifts a people may possess if they are wanting in those which, from this point of view, are of the most importance." And then he proceeded to specify: "If, for example, they have no capacity for grading their loyalties as well as for being moved by them; if they have no natural inclination to liberty and no natural respect for law; if they lack good humour and tolerate foul play; if they know not how to compromise or when; if they have not that distrust of extreme conclusions which is sometimes misdescribed as want of logic; if corruption does not repel them; and if their divisions tend to be either too numerous or too profound, the successful

working of British institutions may be difficult or impossible." The advice contained in these few sentences is as sound for the educational administrator as it is for the people generally of a free society founded on the rule of law. Early in his career the superintendent should learn that very rarely indeed does history confront him with clear-cut choices between black and white. As a rule, choices must be made among varying shades of gray.

Ninth and finally, the superintendent should know himself. This injunction derived from the ancient Athenians should be recognized as a guiding principle in all decision-making in the field of education. However humble or exalted his position, the individual should above all know his own strengths and weaknesses. Such knowledge of self should lead him to search for, value, and utilize those talents and powers in others which he does not possess in equal measure. Many a man has achieved the highest levels of statesmanship because of his ability to do this. If the superintendent knows himself truly, he then is well on the way to knowing others. Such knowledge is indispensable to effective leadership.

